Fall 1982

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Cleveland State University

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CONCRETE POETRY CONTEST

Deadline: January 15, 1983

Mail entries to: Concrete Poetry Contest
The Gamut
Rhodes Tower 1216
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, OH 44115

Eligibility: Open to anyone. No limit on number of submissions. Submissions must be original work of the contestant and must not have been previously published.

Definition: For the purposes of this contest, a concrete poem is defined as a unified literary work involving a necessary visual element.

Rules and restrictions: Submissions must be such as can be published in The Gamut, e.g., they must be reproducible in black and white on one or more 7" x 10" pages. Black-and-white photographs are acceptable. Photocopies may be submitted, on the understanding that the originals will be provided for publication. Include name, address, telephone number, and Social Security number with submission. Manuscripts will be returned if accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope.

The editors urge entrants to eschew the facile! For more on concrete poetry, see The Gamut, issue #6 (Spring/Summer 1982).

$500.00 in prizes
plus publication in
The Gamut, issue #9
(Spring/Summer, 1983)

Judges:
John M. Bennett
Perry L. Peterson
Mary Ellen Salt
and The Gamut editorial staff

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The Gamut invites commentaries for its “Back Matter” section and also the submission of new articles and creative works, especially by Ohio writers and artists, on topics of interest to readers of this region. Preliminary inquiries are welcome; detailed information for contributors on request. Submitted material will be returned if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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The Many Faces of Ariel

The strikingly different ways in which Shakespeare’s “airy spirit” has been represented on the stage reflect major shifts in sexual and social, as well as theatrical, attitudes since the first production 371 years ago.

Consider two pictures: one shows a pretty, even voluptuous young woman in flowing late-Regency attire, corkscrew curls cascading down her neck, butterfly wings springing from her shoulders, pearls dripping from her loose sleeves, a garland of shells and sea creatures encircling her curving hips, two large scallop shells covering her bodice, many-pointed stars glinting atop hair and wand and more stars sprinkled on skirt, bracelets, necklace. The other picture shows a man, tall, neither young nor old, dressed only in a white singlet and knee breeches, straight pale hair cut close to his head like a cap. Both are stage representations of the same character—Ariel, the “airy spirit” of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*. The first description is of Miss Maria Louisa Carr, who played the role in London in 1831; the second is Nicholas Pencell, the Ariel at Stratford, Ontario, in 1976. These are only two among countless Ariels since the play was first performed in 1611.

Shakespeare’s plays, because they have been performed almost continuously for nearly 400 years, offer an unusual opportunity to study changes in fashions of performance that often reflect deeper changes in social attitudes outside the theater. None, perhaps, has had more varied performance than *The Tempest*, because it allows so much room for interpretation and extravagant visual effects. On the surface, it is a simple play—everything happens in one afternoon, on a single island. But the central figure of the play is an enigmatic magician, Prospero, and the central problem, his actions toward old enemies, equally enigmatic as to tone and emphasis, making valid quite different productions. Prospero’s spells become visible illusions through his mysterious servant, Ariel. But Ariel, as we have seen, can also be realized in wildly different ways—and, indeed, was played by a boy in Shakespeare’s time, then for about 300 years by a woman, and now routinely by a man.

These shifts and changes in the way Ariel has been presented obviously reflect the way directors have perceived the relationship between the spirit and his (her?) master, and hence ultimately the play’s meaning for audiences at a given time. A study of Ariel in the theater, then, can reveal something about changing ideas of sexual roles in society, and, since Ariel is a strange being who makes real Prospero’s ideas, will also afford clues to popular conceptions of the imagination and sources of the fantastic.

According to the play, Prospero, once Duke of Milan, was overthrown by his brother and the King of Naples and cast away on an island with his daughter, Miranda. There, he practices magic, effecting his spells through
Ariel (who commands other spirits), and keeps as slave a humanoid monster, Caliban, whom he has tried unsuccessfully to raise above mere appetites. Providence brings the men who caused Prospero's overthrow near the island; he decides to shipwreck them, calling up the magical storm which opens the play. At his command, Ariel continues to bewilder and frighten them with illusions until they are driven mad, and entices the King's son Ferdinand to a spot where he and Miranda will meet. Although they immediately fall in love, Prospero tests them, then celebrates their constancy and chastity with a masque of goddesses. He forgives and heals his enemies and, renouncing his magic, returns to Milan, setting Ariel (and Caliban) free.

All that one can be sure of from the play is that Ariel is not human, but an elemental spirit; of the air, he commands winds (hence waves and storms) and moves with incredible speed; he is controlled by Prospero and eager to please him, yet impatient to be free. Prospero calls him "my tricksy spirit" (indeed, he usually uses the possessive), "my industrious servant," "my delicate Ariel," "my bird." The problem for the actor cast as Ariel, then, is how to present a creature of the air, presumably sexless, invisible to all but Prospero (and the audience), and the apparent agent of whatever illusions and extravagant effects the producer has dreamed up. As with most of Shakespeare's plays, no specific visual instructions are given, no limits of interpretation firmly set.

The play does call for elaborate visual sequences, however. Ariel, at Prospero's command, becomes a sea nymph to lure Ferdinand with strange music; causes a banquet to appear before the shipwrecked lords, then makes it disappear in a stroke of lightning, manifesting himself as a harpy to chastise them for their past deeds; produces Iris, Ceres and Juno, and a dance of reapers and nymphs to entertain and bless Ferdinand and Miranda; pursues the erring clowns as a huntsman, with his spirits as dogs nipping at their heels. Such episodes were, in part, Shakespeare's response to his audience's taste for surprise and spectacle. In 1611, the court masque, with its ornate stage machinery and costumes, music and dancing, was at the height of fashion. The Tempest was performed at court, first in 1611 and again early in 1613, as one of the entertainments celebrating the betrothal of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. But it was also undoubtedly performed in the regular repertory, and probably both at the open-roofed Globe and the indoor theater at Blackfriars. In all these productions, Ariel would have been played by a boy who was, nevertheless, a thoroughly trained actor, and his costume probably resembled the "page like a fiery spirit" in Thomas Campion's Lord's Masque of 1607, described with lank brown hair bound with blue ribbon from which flames arise [the flames are white cock tail-feathers with red tips] wings of flames on shoulders. Close fitting lorica, with long sleeves, of white patterned yellow [a lorica, or tunic, resembles a sweatshirt that has come into money]. Blue ribbons with flames from the shoulders. Bases of white puffs edged with long fringe of flames. Smoke coloured mantle. White tights with brown shoes.1

Looking at this Ariel and Prospero, the audience saw a nimble page and his master, an ordinary relationship to them, and one whose connotations of hierarchy and obedience they took for granted: the page might show occasional sulkiness (boys do) but responded to praise with alacrity; the master demonstrated a quasi-paternal severity tempered with affection. Such relationships figure in Shakespeare's earlier comedies Love's Labors Lost and Merry Wives of Windsor, and remind one of Oberon and Puck in Midsummer Night's Dream. On a deeper level, a boy subliminally suggested the active, imaginative spirit of a man (a useful image), and the child's androgyny made clear this airy spirit's essential sexlessness. But the combination of boy Ariel and man Prospero, though it may clarify a straightforward reading of the play, explain Prospero's occasional testiness and Ariel's yearning for freedom, soon was to become impossible.

Women were not permitted to perform onstage during Shakespeare's time: boys habitually took all women's parts, from Juliet to Lady Macbeth. Then, during the period of the Commonwealth, theaters were closed; when they reopened just after Charles II's restoration, women were members of the companies, a practice already established on the continent. Just as boys had once played women, so now women played boys — including Ariel.
After the Restoration in 1660, women played parts on the stage previously taken by boys. Miss Field was the Ariel in David Garrick’s production, first mounted in 1757. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The Tempest, too, underwent a sea change; made into a musical by John Dryden and William Davenant, The Enchanted Island, it now focused on love rather than magic. Miranda had a sister, Dorinda; a young man, Hippolito, who had never seen a woman, was found for her; Caliban acquired a monstrous (and randy) sister, wooed by the jester Trinculo; even Ariel had a wife named Milcha. Ariel’s job in this version seems to be primarily to lead lovers around so that they can find each other and then to watch over them, a little spice added to this general tricksiness by the audience’s recognizing an actress pretending to be male. In Dryden’s prologue, for instance, Ariel is referred to:

[We] By our dearth of Youths are forc’d t’employ
One of our Women to present a Boy.
And that’s a transformation you will say
Exceeding all the Magick in the Play.
Let none expect in the last Act to find
Her Sex transform’d from man to Woman-kind.
Whate’er she was before the Play began,
All you shall see of her is perfect man.
Or if your fancy will be farther led,
To find her Woman, it must be abed. 2
The concept fitted a play much more frankly sexual than Shakespeare’s. Much was made of the young women’s longing for men (and vice-versa), and Caliban becomes a kind of pimp for his wanton sister. Prospero’s role is considerably diminished and his relationship with Ariel, since it is no longer central to the play, not much colored by having the spirit played by an actress.

The Dryden-Davenant version and an opera based on it by Shadwell dominated the stage until 1757, when David Garrick
Miss Carr, one of the very feminine Ariels of the early nineteenth century. From the Art Collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

 Mounted a splendid production remarkably faithful to Shakespeare which continued at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, yearly until 1776. Miss Field exemplifies the Ariel of this period, all tights and gauzy wings, a simple drape tied about her waist as a concession to modesty for a public more concerned about morals than Dryden's had been, but looking as neutral and boyish as possible.

But in 1789, J.P. Kemble brought back Hippolito and Dorinda and produced a version which miraculously combined Shakespeare with the best bits of Dryden/Davenant in an extravaganza so successful that it held the stage for fifty years. Ariel had no wife in this version, and indeed, the actress playing the role looked more and more feminine as time passed, culminating in some paroxysm
of charm with the delicious Miss Carr in her scallop shells, butterfly wings, and long curls. Another tradition co-existed (in productions somewhat more faithful to Shakespeare) — a classical Ariel in tutu or modified toga, though still clearly feminine. The preface to the 1823 edition of the play by the actor William Ox­berry noted crossly that "Ariel is usually a robust young lady with a pair of painted gauze wings stuck to her shoulders . . . let down from the ceiling in a clumpy, creaking piece of machinery." (He must have seen Miss Julia St. George in the part.) The concept seemed particularly ludicrous to him because he felt about The Tempest that "acting such beautiful abstractions, such impalpable shadowy conceptions . . . seems absurd."

His criticism is typical. Charles Lamb said of The Tempest (as he also said of Lear) that it was “impossible to be represented on a stage,” and added that, in particular, “spirits and fairies cannot be represented, they cannot even be painted — they can only be believed.” The subject of The Tempest was the high romantic one of the artist's imagination — the “cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces” as Prospero says — better left on the page to stimulate the vast theater of the mind than embodied in real human beings. Prospero has become the Romantic poet-visionary, the Genius of the Imagination, and Ariel, in Coleridge’s words, is:

Neither born of heaven, nor of earth; but as it were, between both, like a May blossom kept suspended in air by the fanning breeze, which prevents it from falling to the ground, and only finally, and by compulsion, touching earth. But of course The Tempest was staged. And in the nineteenth century, a “May blossom” was definitely feminine. Actresses played Ariel throughout the nineteenth and nearly half the twentieth centuries not because they had taken over boys' roles, but because society’s prevailing view of the play required it. The male chivalric ideal, so important during this time, united strength, courage, fidelity, protection of the weak — but sensitivity and delicacy belonged to women. Men were heroic, never ethereal. The slight female figure suggested best that lamp of purity and esthetic spirituality which Ariel seemed to be. And women were, of course, the emanations of male will — men had ideas; women nourished them into reality. A Victorian audience, then, saw Ariel as a daughter, a spiritual counterpart to Miranda; as Miranda fulfilled her father's wishes in this world, marrying the son of his enemy and healing that wound, so Ariel fulfilled his wishes in the world of the immortal — art.

It is true, however, that onstage, this immortal world left little to the audience’s imagination. If The Tempest has always been an excuse for spectacle, nineteenth-century productions reached some kind of ultimate. Productions habitually had five acts, with eight or ten different scene changes accomplished with creaking machinery, a cast swelled by a whole shipload of sailors and courtiers, a ballet corps, and frequently a spirit choir. The stage setting described for the opening scene in a production at the Theatre Royal in 1839 (in which Priscilla Horton played Ariel) gives an indication:

Scene 1. A tranquil sea. The Neapolitan fleet in the distance. A storm suddenly rises — thunder and lightning — the fleet is dispersed — dark clouds descend and obscure the vessels — demons appear above, waving intermitting lights — a shattered vessel appears R. — is dismayed — founders — Ariel passes over the stage, waving an intermitting light — grand panoramic spectacle.

In 1857, Charles Kean employed a corps de ballet of thirty-six, as well as forty children,
especially in productions for the Open Air Theatre in Regent’s Park, and at Stratford-upon-Avon. Nevertheless, the male ideal was changing slowly, too. Although in general, men were still not supposed to be esthetic and could not really be symbols of airy spirituality, the popularity of male ballet dancers like Nijinsky opened new opportunities for male performers in theater. In the nineteenth century, male dancers existed primarily to carry ballerinas about, but with the advent of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, new dancers like Nijinsky and new choreographers like Fokine, audiences began once more to appreciate masculine grace and mobility onstage.

The first male to play Ariel since Shakespeare’s time was Leslie French, himself a dancer with the Covent Garden ballet, at the Old Vic in 1933, in a loincloth and winged hat like the herald Mercury. French’s interpretation of Ariel as “quick, brilliant light,” to quote the *Times* reviewer, was repeated several times at the Open Air Theatre in Regent’s but no other men flocked to try the role, and French found himself typecast and virtually unable to find other parts. Society wasn’t ready, perhaps.

Certainly productions at Stratford-upon-Avon continued to have actresses play Ariel through the thirties and forties, though in a surge of historical accuracy, a boy played the role (critics found him a wooden actor) in the first post-war production in 1946. Of course other groups, influenced by William Poel, had since the early years of the century sought to transform Shakespearean staging, attempting to return to something like the original conditions by using a bare, thrust stage and no breaks between scenes, and concentrating on the language. In the early 1950’s, Bernard Miles founded the New Mermaid Theatre — a reconstructed Globe — in St. John’s Wood. But *The Tempest* was performed only once there, with a boy as Ariel of course. The shortage of adequately trained boys, however, meant that such productions made scant impression on the larger theatrical world.

More popular aspects of the culture, in fact, determined new directions. Science fiction, a relatively new genre, became a possible source for images of an Ariel who was nonhuman, unearthly; and new technologies provided new ways to visualize streamlining and speed. The style comes from the Art Deco movement, which reached a culmination in the 1939 World’s Fair (the World of Tomorrow). But the real innovator in the theater was that young British iconoclast, Tyrone Guthrie. In 1934, he directed a production at the Old Vic in which Prospero was played by Charles Laughton and Ariel by his wife, Elsa Lanchester, in a silver tunic with short red wings and a cape. Laughton apparently played Prospero as aged and weary — a slow-motion Father Time — and Ariel was his quicksilver mind (though rather feminine, with lipstick and mascara). Nonetheless, some critics found her “too modern,” with “songs like steel furniture” (presumably dissonant), although others thought her powerful, “sexless, a being from another world, her
Ariel as played by Viola Tree in 1904 begins to look like a flapper. From the Art Collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Ariel as played by Viola Tree in 1904 begins to look like a flapper. From the Art Collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

and apologized in the program for the sometimes slow scene changes:

The scenic appliances of the play are of a more extensive and complicated nature than have ever yet been attempted in any theater in Europe; requiring the aid of above 140 operatives nightly.

His Ariel, Kate Tree, wore a tutu with a Greek drape, since he drew heavily on Classical mythology for his sources of the fantastic. The masque took place before a drop showing a distant Greek temple, and the goblins who torment Caliban and friends were "copied from Furies on Etruscan vases."

The last such lavish productions were Herbert Beerbohm Tree's offerings in 1901 and 1904, which had special music by Sir Arthur Sullivan and other composers, seven different sets (designed and painted by a number of artists), the usual cast of thousands, and featured Viola Tree as Ariel. (Tree himself played Caliban, whom he saw as a sort of Darwinian Missing Link.) Some critics attacked the ruthless cutting, elaborate scenery, and pantomime elements, feeling that Shakespeare had no need of them, but Tree defended his production in the introduction he wrote for the souvenir program in 1904, saying that "illusion is the whole business of the theater." Yet the controversy was still not so much over the kind of staging as whether or not the play could be staged at all. When Viola Tree revived the 1904 production in 1921, with Winifred Barnes as Ariel, the Times reviewer still felt that "The Tempest is a poem and must lose something by being put on stage. Only the imagination can create the ethereal beauty of the island; Shakespeare's last play makes it appeal to the spirit of sheer beauty." Viola Tree's 1921 interpretation was clearly nostalgic, relying heavily not simply on the "cloud-capped towers" but on the bittersweet conclusion that "we are such stuff as dreams are made on," summed up in the program by a quote from Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch:

The Tempest forces diviner tears, tears of sheer beauty; with a royal sense of this world and how it passes away, with a catch at the heart of what is to come. And still the sense is royal, it is the majesty of art: we feel that we are greater than we know. So on the surges of our emotion as on the surges ringing Prospero's island is blown a spray, a mist. Actually it dwells in our eyes, bedimming them: and as involuntarily we would brush it away, there rides in it a rainbow, and its colours are wisdom and charity, with forgiveness, tender ruth for all men and women growing older, and perennial trust in young love.

At this time, Prospero was wholly identified with Shakespeare himself, and The Tempest, regarded as his last play, was his noble renunciation of the stage, disguised as Prospero's renunciation of his art. Thus the misty rainbow, the catch at the heart are all summed up in the wise old greybeard and his quicksilver "daughter" Ariel, the essence of muggy sentimentality and a crowd pleaser if ever there was one. These Ariels looked more boyish, it is true (perhaps by analogy with Peter Pan, always played by a woman), but part of the explanation must be that the flat-chested figure with the bobbed hair was, by 1921, not so much androgynous as a new female type.

Women in the twenties, as Alison Lurie notes in The Language of Clothes, looked "like children — like the little girls they had been ten to twenty years earlier, and (to a lesser extent) the little boys they had played with; the ideal woman... was now a daring, even a naughty, tomboy." And perfect for Ariel. This image persisted through the twenties,
voice shrill and soft." She kept up "an ingenious and unwearying movement of the arms, like an insect quivering in the sun, a dragonfly," said James Agate in the *Sunday Times*. Writing thirty years later, in the 1968 Chichester Festival program, Alan Dent remembered her as his favorite Ariel.

After this portrayal, directors began to think of Ariel not as representing some fragile beauty that Prospero must renounce with the resumption of mortality, but as a strange being from an order of creatures decidedly not human. The role thus was fully opened to men. In Guthrie's 1940 production at the Old Vic, Marius Goring, a powerful young actor with an impassive face, played Ariel covered in spangles and glistening body paint, his eyes enlarged and darkened and his hair stif-
fended and swept back like fins. (John Gielgud played Prospero — the first of his four separate appearances so far in the role — and young Alec Guinness made his debut as Ferdinand.) Goring emphasized Ariel's strangeness and passionate desire for freedom, a logical extension of this interpretation. Once Prospero is seen as in some sense a tyrant, rather than simply a benevolent manipulator, new possibilities emerge. Rather than the god-like magician, leading humans to understand and repent sins which he will then forgive, he becomes usurper of the island, imprisoned of the free spirit Ariel. This Prospero undergoes an internal struggle, whether to wreak vengeance on his enemies or forgive them. Ariel suffers under him because he is a spirit of another order, born to be free, and
any bondage is torment, even if it is for the good of others. But he also helps Prospero see his tormenting of his enemies for what it is and come to terms with forgiveness and the inevitable renunciation of magic it brings. The crucial moment occurs when Ariel describes the courtiers' madness and says:

"... Your charm so strongly works 'em
That if you now beheld them your affections
Would become tender.
PROSPERO: Dost thou think so, spirit?
ARIEL: Mine would sir, were I human."

(V. i. 17-20)

Most modern productions insert a long pause here, while Prospero digests the meaning of the speech and its implications. He then says, "And mine shall." The decision for mercy is made.

Given the relationship of a master and a servant suffering under his yoke, however, one might almost say that Ariel can no longer be played by a woman. Certainly, since 1951, when Margaret Leighton played the role at Stratford ("more demon than imp, masterful and baleful, weird and sexless"), almost no major production has had an actress play Ariel. (The exception is one at the Great Lakes Shakespeare Festival in 1977, when the oppressed Ariel was Debbie Stover, not only a slim female but black.) Usually the part is played by a short, slender young actor, a return to the idea of Ariel as a boy, or a further development of him as strange, even extraterrestrial. The idea that Ariel represents a side of Prospero himself — the visual embodiment of his powers, or even his superego, as Caliban might be his Id (in the science fiction film updating of *The Tempest*, *Forbidden Planet*, the destructive monsters that range over the land are conjured out of the magician-scientist's unconscious) — also reinforces the casting of men in the role.

Since about 1960, however, the theater has increasingly accepted experimentation, and not only the world of science fiction, but a bewildering multiplicity of new ideas, philosophies, techniques have affected Shakespeare production, and with it the image of Ariel. To some extent, the public support of institutions like the Stratford Festival in Ontario and the Royal Shakespeare Company, and the National Theatre in Britain, has meant regular production of Shakespeare’s plays with increasing sophistication. The growing authority of directors and their need to put their personal stamp on productions of classics has meant a renewed search for novelty. New ideas (especially political and psychological readings) in Shakespeare criticism, exploitation of new techniques of stagecraft (especially lighting, slide projections), new influences on theater like the Oriental drama (stylized movement and acrobatic and mime techniques), new ideas about the responsibility of the theater to make political statements (drawn from Brecht’s epic theater), the influence of Antonin Artaud’s Theatre of Cruelty and other improvisational and group theater techniques — all have changed the way audiences experience *The Tempest*. The politicizing of society and growing sexual freedom of the nineteen-sixties have also left their mark.

New ideas about male/female roles have also begun to liberate men from the chivalric stereotype. Here the popularity of rock musicians, exploiting androgynous or frankly weird looks, and the continuing adulation of male ballet dancers like Nureyev and Barishnikov, so that the male body can be thought of as graceful, even fragile, have been important, as has been the growth of a counter-culture in which taboos against homosexuality no longer exist. There are almost as many new ways to see Ariel as there are productions.
We've therefore had a *Tempest*, directed by Jonathan Miller at the Mermaid in 1970, in which Prospero is a British imperialist; Ariel a houseboy, an angry, educated black who yearns for independence; and Caliban a field negro, led astray by promises of pleasure from unscrupulous agitators. Peter Brook, in working with *The Tempest* as a text for improvisational exercises in 1968, exploring the nature of theater, had a Japanese actor in kimono play Ariel, since the Japanese theater has conventions of mime that mean invisibility and magical power. In the *Tempest* production, noted for its sensational visual effects, that opened the National Theatre in 1974 (directed by Peter Hall, with John Gielgud again as Prospero) Michael Feast played Ariel with subliminal references to punk rock stars — weird make-up, long hair — swinging in on a trapeze. Ben Kingsley, in John Barton's 1970 production for the Royal Shakespeare Company, appeared as a virtually hairless creature with elaborately painted face, wearing only a furry cache-sexe, who kept popping up from between Prospero's legs and coming from behind him unawares to suggest an alien power over which a magician might have control but little real understanding.

Jan Kott, writing in *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, expresses still another possibility:

Whenever I think of Ariel, I visualize him as a slim boy with a very sad face. His costume ought to be quite ordinary and inconspicuous. He can be dressed in dark trousers and a white shirt, sweatshirt or a pullover. Ariel moves faster than thought. Let him appear and disappear from the stage imperceptibly. But he must not dance or run. He should move very slowly. He should stand still as often as possible. Only then can he become faster than thought.7

This concept was perhaps best realized in one of the finest recent Ariels, Nicholas Pennell's at Stratford, Ontario, in 1976, although Pennell says his idea for his portrayal came from reading the science fiction novels of C.S. Lewis, and perhaps by extension, J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. Lewis, combining ideas of relativity with Christian theology, invented the *eldila*, powerful beings who are invisible because they are in all places at once:

> The *eldila* are, of course, related to the High Elves of Tolkien's tale, another race of tall, powerful beings whose glory is quite unlike the usual conception of fairies or elves. In the Stratford production (directed by Robin Phillips, with William Hutt as Prospero) Pennell, a mature man, wore a singlet and knee breeches, a costume which seemed sexually neutral (as a naked body cannot be) and moved slowly, as if imprisoned in a thick, alien element or as a swimmer might in water. He and his spirits, dressed like him except in black, did not leave the stage, but became a pervasive presence which the audience came to accept, even no longer to notice. Pennell said he thought of Ariel as innocent, in the way horses are (echoes of Swift's Houyhnhmns?), and as perhaps the embodiment of part of Prospero, his higher self, and Caliban his lower.
But the experimentation and diversity of the sixties and seventies recede. Two signs indicate possible redirections: in the production at Stratford, Ontario, this past summer, Ariel looked straight out of a Jacobean masque with his ribbons and breeches, and behaved like a boyish servant, quick, bright, eager to please, a little saucy. Ian Deakin, who played the role, is handsome and looks very boyish. And in Tempest, the new film by Paul Mazursky based loosely on The Tempest, the central character is an architect who undergoes a mid-life crisis and flees to a lonely Greek island with his daughter. There, his Ariel is Aretha, a free spirit, a woman liberated from conventional sexual and domestic roles. A boy — and a woman. The wheel keeps turning.

Anne Righter Barton, editor of the New Penguin edition, says of The Tempest that “at various times the play has been said to be about almost everything: from the nature of the poetic imagination to the three-part division of the soul, the wonders of Renaissance science to man's colonial responsibilities. Obviously The Tempest cannot be about all these things . . . [but it is] an extraordinarily obliging work of art. It will lend itself to almost any interpretation, any set of meanings imposed upon it: it will even make them shine.” And so it does, in countless productions, over 371 years. It holds the mirror up to Nature, and in it we always see ourselves.

NOTES

By Their Handwriting Ye Shall Know Them

Grapho-psychology is being used in personnel selection, law, and other situations requiring insight into people's personalities.

To discover what another person is like has always been a fascinating endeavor. We listen to the sound of a voice, we look at the expression in the eyes, the features of a face, the way one walks and dresses — all in order to find clues about a person's character. Most of the time when we interpret body language, we proceed intuitively. Yet occasionally, when circumstances call for it, we may use established psychological methods to reveal dispositions, character traits and aptitudes, or hidden problems. One of these methods, though not widely known or applied in this country, is handwriting analysis or, as it is now more commonly called in Europe, Grapho-Psychology or Script-Psychology.

One of the first instances of inferring character from handwriting can be found in antiquity when the Roman historian Suetonius comments on the negative aspects of Caesar Augustus' handwriting: "I have observed this special peculiarity in his manner of writing: he does not divide words or carry superfluous letters from the end of one line to the beginning of the next, but writes them just below the rest of the word and draws a loop around them."1

Systematic approaches to the interpretation of handwriting are more recent. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Italian Camillo Baldi, a respected professor of medicine at the University of Bologna, published a rudimentary treatise on the subject. During the two centuries following, little scientific research took place, though some of the great writers of that period — Goethe, Lavater, Poe, and others — were deeply impressed by handwriting analysis and saw it as a "key" that could unlock the secrets of human behavior.

The first attempts to establish a scientific paradigm for handwriting analysis were made in the nineteenth century by two French priests: Abbé Louis Flandrin, who categorized a large number of specimens according to common graphic features and signs, and Abbé Jean-Hippolyte Michon, who related these graphic signs to specific personality traits. Michon, credited with coining the word graphology, published his findings in 1875 as his Système de graphologie. From then on, interest in this new method grew rapidly all over Europe, and serious scholars, such as the German physiologist Wilhelm Preyer and the psychiatrist Georg Meyer, began to carry out systematic research and thus helped to contribute to a theoretical foundation for graphology. It was Preyer who observed that handwriting, controlled by the cortex, is really "brainwriting," a conclusion he reached by noting the similarity of characteristics in the writing specimens of a person who alternately uses his hands, feet, or mouth.

Frederick H. Holck, Professor of Religious Studies at Cleveland State University, was born in Neuenburg, Germany, and studied philosophy at the Universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen. He received a Ph. D. in Comparative Religion summa cum laude from the University of Salzburg. He came to the United States in 1963 and became a U.S. citizen in 1968. He served as Chairman of the CSU Department of Religion from 1970 to 1980, and is now Acting Director of CSU's Extended Campus College. He is co-editor of the Encyclopedia of Hinduism, editor of Death and Eastern Thought (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), and author of a number of articles on religious and philosophical subjects.
In the early decades of this century graphology became legitimized when it was included in psychology curricula at numerous European universities. The influence of the great pioneers of that period, such as Ludwig Klages, Rudolph Pophal, and Max Pulver, can still be felt. Today graphology is a recognized area within the discipline of psychology. As it is only a diagnostic method rather than a science in its own right, the integrity of its study and practice necessitates that it be pursued in conjunction with psychological theories of personality. It is, therefore, taught in the framework of psychodiagnostic methods courses along with a wide range of other established psychodiagnostic testing methods. Graduate studies on the Ph.D. level in psychology with a concentration in graphology are possible in France, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Due to the impressive advances in graphological research in Europe and Israel over the last three decades, graphology has found a variety of applications. In most European countries and in Israel, professional grapho-psychologists, who are licensed or certified by governmental agencies on the basis of the required course of studies leading to either the Ph.D. degree or the Diploma status in psychology, serve as consultants in medicine, psychiatry, pathology, industry and business, law enforcement, education, and in the many areas of counseling. The criteria for analysis are also invaluable in the process of establishing the authenticity of disputed documents and signatures, such as handwritten wills and checks.

Recent developments in psychology have had a significant impact on graphology. In the past, mainly because of the influence of Michon, the emphasis was on trait or molecular analysis, where conclusions are based on stroke-by-stroke and sign-by-sign interpretation. Now, because of the gestalt concept, according to which "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts," a molar or holistic approach that evaluates traits in the context of the total picture of a specimen is preferred by most European grapho-psychologists. Today the two most common methods applied by American practitioners are the holistic approach and the analytic approach. The first method in the evaluation process concentrates on space utilization and rhythm, whereas the analytic method focuses on traits. Since each method has valid points, many practitioners combine the two.

In the United States and Canada handwriting analysis is still on the fringes of academic respectability. Only a few colleges offer credit courses in it. A major reason for the reluctance to consider the application of handwriting analysis a legitimate scientific pursuit is the element of intuition in the evaluation process which is inconsistent with the prevailing positivistic orientation of American psychology.

Because of the role played by intuition (though this is not undisputed), some practitioners refer to graphology as both a science and an art, in the way that medicine is sometimes viewed. But most professional graphologists who admit the intuitive component would hasten to emphasize the importance of the objective element in their approach, i.e., a quantitative system of measurement without which handwriting analysis would not be very different from tea leaf or tarot card readings.

It has long been recognized in Europe, and lately in this country, that the claim for the scientific nature of graphology rests upon validation. Serious validation studies have been carried out in Europe with variable degrees of success for almost half a century. The correlation of single handwriting traits to various measures of character has not led to satisfactory conclusions, as became apparent from, e.g., P.F. Secord's findings. Multiple-trait correlations, on the other hand, have produced encouraging results. Likewise, the factor-analytical method, whereby an extensive number of variables are reduced to a limited number of basic factors, has been successfully applied in recent European validation studies. A strong case for predictability has been made by W. Hofsommer, R. Holdsworth, and T. Seifert, who were able to predict success among students at a Swedish forestry college on the basis of handwriting analyses.
After World War II, interest in graphology increased considerably in this country, especially with the refinement of its quantitative measurement system and the development of research, both privately and in academic settings. Columbia University, for example, in 1949 awarded a Ph.D. degree for a thesis entitled *A Study in Handwriting Analysis*, which was published as a book with the same title. In it the author analyzes the handwriting of delinquents and identifies common characteristics which are absent in the script of non-delinquents.

Today there are several, often competing, professional organizations in North America propagating the use of handwriting analysis and facilitating instruction and research in the subject. Among the most reputable are the American Association of Handwriting Analysts; Handwriting Analysts International; the American Handwriting Analysis Foundation; and, most recently established, the Society for Integrative Graphology. Most of these organizations regularly publish journals and newsletters.

A major impetus has come from business and industry with the realization that using graphological techniques in the selection of personnel is in a company's best interest; graphologists maintain that such techniques are faster, often more accurate and comprehensive, and always considerably less expensive than the traditional battery of personality tests. According to an article in *The Professional Agent* an estimated two thousand companies are using the services of graphologists in their hiring procedures, among them New England Life, New York Life, Northwestern, Prudential, Occidental, Connecticut Mutual, Penn Mutual, Mutual of Omaha, and many more. The same article quotes the head of the New York general agency of New England Mutual Life Insurance as saying: "Handwriting analysis can tell more about what makes a person tick than I can learn from an interview or a whole battery of psychological tests." In addition many individual professionals such as career and marriage counselors, psychiatrists, and attorneys consult professional handwriting analysts.

Before presenting some of the basic elements of grapho-psychology, a few caveats are in order. Although handwriting analysis can detect many personality traits and character features, it cannot determine the age and sex of a writer; nor can it reveal with certainty if a document was written by a left- or a right-handed person. The difficulty in recognizing a writer's age lies in the fact that chronological age does not necessarily correlate with a person's level of maturity. And similarly, perhaps because every individual contains both feminine and masculine qualities, it is impossible to ascertain a writer's sex positively from a writing sample.

That handwriting changes, not only over the years but often within a short period of time, reflecting a writer's mood or pleasant or traumatic experiences, is convincingly shown through the example of Napoleon Bonaparte's signatures. At the time of victory (after the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805) the emperor's feelings of optimism and confidence are manifested in the rising base line:

When he lost the Battle of Leipzig, his frustration and anger showed up in the tense formation of his signature (Oct. 23, 1813):
One of his last signatures, on the Island of Saint Helena, reveals defeat, hopelessness, and depression. There is no longer a base line, only a vertical descent:

A professional graphologist, in order to carry out a comprehensive analysis, ought to have a specimen of at least four to six pages, written in a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere, on unlined, blank paper, with a fountain pen or ball pen. Ideally, it should be done over a period of time and should include a signature. The more these conditions are approximated, the more accurate the result of the analysis. Unfortunately, an analyst often has to work with much less, especially when dealing with a historical document, a brief suicide note, or maybe only the signature on a check. In these cases the conclusions have to be less than accurate and more general. The size of the sample is crucial when one is determining the weight to assign a given trait. Most graphologists would concur in their assessment of the meaning of a sign appearing just once in a longer specimen: if it is not corroborated by other signs of similar or identical meaning, it should not be considered. A general rule stated by Olyanova is useful here: “A sign occasionally shown indicates an occasional trait. When plentiful, it shows a habit. When scarce yet evident, it reveals a tendency.” Yet the most important principle to be considered in any case is that of corroboration.

After these preliminary remarks, let us look first at one of the most noticeable features of any handwritten document: the use of space. Regardless of the size and shape of a page, or any other material, every writer has to decide how to utilize the available area, where to start and where to end, and how much to leave blank. The usual four margins reflect, as gestalt-graphology maintains, a writer’s sense of economy, aesthetics, and even morality. Thus, when a body of writing is centered in such a way that the margins are straight and of more or less equal size, it is concluded that the writer is concerned with order, justice, regularity, and form. This may also reveal neurotic self-consciousness and repression. Whatever the interpretation, it has to be consistent with other graphological signs indicative of the same personality traits.
Of particular significance are the left and right margins. The width of the left margin, if straight, shows a writer's economical attitude. The wider it is, the more generosity is projected, while a narrower margin may be interpreted as a symbol of economic insecurity and thrift. However, if the handwriting is small, a wide margin may be an expression of inner restlessness. The attitude of a person toward others, toward the world, can be detected from the width of the right margin. The wider the right margin, the stronger is the tendency to maintain distance from others. This feature is often combined with left-tilted writing. A narrow right margin, together with right-slanted script, can often be found in the writing of outgoing individuals who love to be with others and who can easily establish personal contact.

Diminishing and growing margins likewise have graphological meaning. A widening left margin is often interpreted as impatience and poor planning, plus a lack of economic awareness. A diminishing left margin points to caution, suspicion, inhibition, and fear. When the margins are irregular or wavy they indicate the writer is careless to the point of being inconsiderate. Pokorny sees in this a lack of order in the aesthetic, moral, and economic areas of an individual.

As important as margin placement is the relative position of lines and words in a writing field. The distance between lines and between words helps determine the legibility of handwriting, and this, in turn, may reveal consideration for others, i.e., the presence of moral concerns. The close relation between spacing of lines and words must be considered in the evaluation process. Often a distinct distance between words corresponds to a similar distance between lines. When, for example, in a smaller handwriting these distances amount to approximately 5 to 6 mm., most holistic analysts interpret this, together with other corroborating signs, as indicative of a writer's ability to deal with an issue intellectually and critically.

Conversely, the smaller the space between lines, allowing the lower loops to run into the letters of the next line and thus reducing legibility, the higher the degree of confusion and self-centeredness in a writer's mind.

Left: relatively large distance between lines; right: lines crowded together.
The distance between words has also been recognized as reflecting a writer's relationship to the world. When the space between words is out of proportion, there is a strong likelihood that the writer may have a strong need for space and privacy often combined with difficulties in establishing or maintaining normal contact with others. Fear and apprehension to the point of paranoia are often the predominant feelings, especially when the letters are left slanted:

The whole world seems to be against us

On the other hand, narrow spaces between words are often found among extroverts, who enjoy spatial closeness:

Please do come soon

As mentioned earlier, the ideal writing utensils for producing a graphological specimen are fountain pens and ball pens because these instruments best transmit the writing pressure onto the writing field. Pressure, in combination with other characteristics, is a significant criterion in the interpretation of handwriting. This was recognized early in the development of the discipline. Since the end of the last century, several writing scales have been constructed for measuring writing pressure. A modern instrument, developed by C.A. Tripp in 1955, is the electro-oscillographodyne. This pen-like device registers the pressure exerted on a stylus by way of electric impulses onto a kymograph. The recorded changes reveal also other factors such as "speed, duration, accented beats, regularity or irregularity, interruptions of flow, variations of emphasis — all of which are constituent parts of the supposedly intangible phenomenon rhythm."

There are three basic pressure categories: heavy, medium, and light. As exerted pressure reflects a person's libidinal energy and vitality, heavy pressure is generally associated with writers who have strong feelings and desires. They tend to appreciate material things, colors, sounds, odors, and tastes, as well as physical and athletic activities. Experiences, positive or negative, leave lasting impressions on them. The handwritings of many artists, athletes, and sensuous persons manifest heavy pressure. If the pressure is excessive, to the point of filling loops and small letters, also known as "muddying" or ink-loading, there is a strong possibility that the writer may not be able to control his sensuality. (The experienced analyst will, of course, recognize whether a specimen displays genuine excessive pressure or whether the appearance is due to a faulty pen.)

Medium-heavy pressure such as is found in the writing of most people normally indicates moderation and self-control if confirmed by other signs, whereas light pressure conveys sensitivity, especially when combined with wide upper loops and/or pronounced right slant. There is often a lack of vitality and self-assertiveness in this kind of writer. If the pressure is extremely light and there are other indicators of weakness, it may point toward physical illness. Occasionally a specimen may show a mixture of extremes, ranging from very weak to excessive pressure. This is always a negative sign, revealing confusion and emotional instability. It is often present in the script of frustrated, angry, and tormented people.
Specimen illustrating light pressure.

Specimen by Honoré de Balzac, illustrating heavy pressure.

My classes are ok. Most of them, tough. I just took a test in my Econ that was very difficult. I think I though. I spent a lot of time studying. Physics class is really great. I like it. I'm doing ok in it. How are you?

Specimen illustrating light pressure.

I don't like it here at all.

Mixed pressure.
The frequent reminder to look for corroborating indices when evaluating writing traits is especially appropriate in the interpretation of slants. As with writing pressure, there are three basic slant or tilt categories that can be measured with a protractor: right, vertical, and left. Slants may range from below 30° right tilt to above 20° left tilt. The consideration of angles of inclination, measured on downstrokes, is important when an individual's ability to interact with others is to be assessed. Generally, writers whose angles of inclination lie between 60 and 80 degrees to the right are outgoing persons who like people and like to be with people. They communicate well and are able to form warm relationships. They may be more inclined to listen to their feelings than to reason. Depending on circumstances and moods, they may display different slants: in a personal letter to a friend the angles of inclination may be lower than 60°, whereas a handwritten inter-office memo may show angles above 80°. Moderate right-slant writing is predominant with individuals who by their own choice are in daily contact with people, or who serve others, such as physicians, teachers, salespersons, actors, and the like.

The more the slant is lowered, the more intense these characteristics become. In the 30-50° slant range, outgoing, extravert behavior changes to dependency on others. Warmth turns into over-affection or jealousy. Instead of reason exerting control, emotions determine actions and reactions. If the inclination angle falls below 30°, oversensitivity, paranoia, oscillation between depression and euphoria may prevail.

Vertical angle (between 80° and 100°), often present in the script of successful business executives, is indicative of a rational approach to problems. It also discloses reserve, independence, calculation, selectiveness in relationships, and self-control. Smaller-sized vertical handwriting is typical among scientists and scholars.

Slants between 60 and 80 degrees.

If only for a short time, is hard but learning to reined yourself in turn you have lost someone you love is not but only through doing, so can you meaning to that person's death.

Slants between 80 and 100 degrees.
While right slant, in general, reveals an outgoing disposition, left slant symbolizes the move away from others, and turning inward; and while the vertical writer has the option of extroversion or introversion, the left-slant writer's inclination is to keep others at a distance. Privacy is especially appreciated. If contact with people is an occupational requirement, it is fulfilled with detachment. Again, this trend toward withdrawal and isolation increases proportionately with degree of incline. From a left tilt of 100° to 120° one may infer the existence of self-centeredness, often combined with self-consciousness and discomfort in the presence of people. Slants above 120° frequently can be found in handwritings of individuals who experience great difficulties in society. They may feel rejected and display symptoms of paranoia. Strong inhibitions and the inability to open up put great strain on their marriages. For this reason when it comes to assessments of marital compatibility, slants are one of the first criteria to be analyzed. The frequent appearance of mixed slants points toward a schizothymic or torn personality. The writer may be outgoing one moment and reticent the next. Slant variety in a specimen is usually accompanied by other indications of instability, such as changing writing pressure and different t-bar formations.

"The size of a handwriting corresponds to the size of a writer's self-image." This position is widely held by modern analysts who see in it a symbolic expression of a person's view of the world in relation to his ego. Max Pulver maintains, e.g., that a large gesture requires an equally large space. Thus a large, firm, and spontaneous script generally reveals a self-assured individual who likes to be in charge and who assesses a situation or a problem as a whole instead of looking at details. Such a writer, often impatient, finds it difficult to concentrate over an extended period of time. Overall, large-sized handwriting can be considered a positive sign if other supporting graphological characteristics can be found. In combination with negative features, such as lack of strength and regularity, large script may be simply an attempt to compensate for feelings of inferiority or insecurity. An exaggerated size, out of proportion to the writing field, may disclose a megalomaniac or extravagant behavior.

The large and firm script of Bismarck (actual size).
The other extreme, small writing, is commonly a sign of modesty; in its negative aspect it can be an indication of fear. With a vertical angle it is a typical phenomenon in the handwriting of scientists and scholars who apply concentration and objectivity to their work. Most people, however, produce a medium-sized handwriting whose small letters, i.e., those of the middle zone such as m's, n's, a's, and o's, extend about 3 mm. To arrive at an accurate evaluation of medium-sized scripts it is particularly important to take in consideration all available categories.

Small writing illustrated in a manuscript by Faulkner (actual size).

From antiquity to the present many writers have assumed some sort of tripartite nature of the human psyche. For Aristotle there were three levels in the human soul: the vegetative, the sensory, and the rational. Sigmund Freud in his psychoanalytic system also distinguished between three aspects: the id, the ego, and the super-ego. This tripartition can be related to our Western system of handwriting, which has three zones: lower, middle, and upper. A few letters, such as f and capital Y, normally occupy all three zones; g, j, etc., reach from the middle to the lower zone; many of the small letters, such as a, c, e, and m, are placed in the middle zone, whereas most of the capitals plus lower-case b, d, h, k, l, and t, extend from the middle into the upper zone.

Upper
Middle Youngstown
Lower

In modern grapho-psychology, that is, since Klages and Pulver, these three zones are generally considered to relate to three parts of the human psyche. The lower zone, then, represents a writer's instinctual biological drives (symbolized by the abdomen); the upper zone is indicative of the intellectual/spiritual aspirations (symbolized by the head); the middle zone, where the two extremes come together, is seen as the emotional and personal sphere (symbolized by the heart or chest). Thus, when a script shows a strong emphasis on the lower zone, it may indicate that the libidinal drives and materialistic orientation of the writer are also strong. If, e.g., the lower loops are very large, of odd or distorted shape, ink blotted, and showing strong writing pressure, one may conclude that the writer is not only preoccupied with sex but may pursue the satisfaction of his desires by unconventional, if not outright criminal, methods. Of course, here as in all other categories, it is absolutely essential to substantiate any suspected character trait with other corroborating signs before a final conclusion is reached.
Emphasis on the middle zone.

"I would like to be a flea

to be born in your eyes.

Emphasis on the upper zone.

Although each zone stands for certain characteristics, one cannot state indiscriminately that the higher the stems or loops push into the upper zone the more spiritual or intellectual a writer appears to be. In general, emphasis on the upper zone is commonly found in the handwriting of imaginative and creative thinkers. If, however, the upper loops or stems are exceedingly high or weak, they may reveal a writer as a dreamer who lacks a sense of reality and practicality and who tries to escape into a fantasy world.

Emphasis on the middle zone is often found in the handwriting of children. It is the zone that reflects the basic needs of a person such as those for warmth and security, protection and food. There is little interest in the spiritual/intellectual realm, and the physical drives associated with the lower zone are minimal. If the letters are rounded or of copybook style, the script indicates an attitude of obedience. If the letters are stiff and angular, their writer may display a rigid and stubborn behavior. As a person grows and becomes more mature and independent, the zonal distribution will change. The middle zone becomes smaller while the extension into the upper and/or lower zones increases.
The foregoing general categories, primarily concerned with the symbolism of the writing field, constitute some of the major criteria in a gestalt approach where the whole picture is considered at once. With the help of these criteria the experienced analyst can arrive quite swiftly at a general impression before moving on to a more detailed evaluation. The next few paragraphs will elaborate on several specific traits that are widely considered for identifying particular characteristics in a writer.

When someone joins a group, everyone looks for clues to size up the newcomer. Sooner or later “he will give himself away,” often by a single inadvertent remark or unconscious reaction. In a similar way, the shape of a single, though recurring, stroke, for example in the letter t, may reveal personal characteristics such as self-esteem, vitality, or temper. There are many different ways to construct a t or to combine this letter with others. It is, of course, not the shape of the t per se that carries the meaning, but the frozen movement and the position of the horizontal bar in relation to the stem. Thus a firm and centered t-bar crossing through the upper third of a stem is interpreted as an expression of self-discipline, self-confidence, and determination. If the horizontal bar is about the same length as the stem, it is seen as enthusiasm. Optimism and high goals are often inferred from a rising t-bar. An unrealistic attitude is symbolized by a t-bar above the stem; this is consistent with the meaning of the earlier-mentioned transcending of the upper zone. Strong, downward moving t-bars can be found in the writing of aggressive and domineering persons; if weak, these t-bars may signify depression or physical problems. A low t-bar (if not combined with a following small letter such as in the word tree) generally conveys low self-confidence and underrating of one’s abilities, also lower expectations and lack of ambition. A t-bar left of the stem reveals procrastination. Lack of energy or motivation prevents these writers from completing a job. They would rather look back into the past than forward. If, on the other hand, a specimen shows the t-bar flying away from the stem, impatience can be inferred, or even uncontrolled temper and sarcasm if the bar has a lance-like shape. The use of knots instead of t-bars can be found in the writing of persistent individuals who do not give up easily. They persevere in spite of obstacles. This behavior may be intensified to the point of stubbornness if the knot ends with a hook. Occasionally the t-bar may be omitted entirely, which can be interpreted as carelessness. Frequent omissions indicate lack of concentration or poor memory. If other omissions occur, such as with i-dots and punctuation or parts of words, it may point toward more serious problems. The substitution of a t-bar with an outward moving stroke that also reaches upward is not to be equated with the total absence of a t-bar. This formation, if firm and large, can be found in writing of successful sales people and marketing executives who seize opportunities and pursue them; it is indicative of a pragmatic outlook.

Perhaps even more revealing than t-bars for gaining immediate insight into people’s self-images are the formations of the personal pronoun I. This letter, when written in the context of a cursive script, discloses what a person thinks and feels about himself, his problems and his strengths. As each person is unique, and as the personal pronoun I is a symbol of the ego, it stands to reason that there should be a vast variety of I formations. Here we can consider only a few. Needless to say, in this assessment most of the previously mentioned criteria, such as size, slant, pressure, and zones, will be applicable. We shall therefore emphasize shapes and draw our conclusions from these factors, including general criteria.

An only child, a fourteen-year-old male, wrote home from summer camp:
The weak I, reminding us of the fetal posture, conveys helplessness, withdrawing into oneself, dependence, and insecurity. The small size indicates low self-esteem; the pronounced left tilt and wide spacing between words, the feeling of isolation and introversion.

A young man, 26, who had just been promoted to assistant manager in the loan department of a bank, ended a note with:

I hope I can make it next week.

In the past he had been constantly criticized by his father and was trying very hard to gain his approval. His first I is about four times as large as his middle-zone letters; in addition, the upper loop is very wide. His second I is much smaller, maintaining more of a proper proportion with the rest of the letters. This writer is very self-conscious, always trying to be noticed by his superiors and his environment, hoping to project an image of confidence, high self-esteem, and independence. The following much smaller I, however, betrays him as an insecure, pretending fellow who desperately attempts to compensate for his feeling of inadequacy and experienced rejection.

How different in comparison to the preceding formations is the simple firm I that looks like a printed letter. It may appear in cursive writing either as a single stroke I or as resembling the Roman numeral I. It can be found in scripts with high form levels that display clarity, simplicity, and originality. We may infer from it the presence of objectivity, intelligence, confidence, resourcefulness, creativity, and self-control:

In all my years of scientific research, I have never seen a project that offers more hope for mankind than the one now underway in our laboratories.

Reduced to 80% of original size.
Another widely used key for assessing an individual's attitude toward others is found in the connecting strokes of a script, sometimes also called the script form. There are four major ways of linking letters together. Each of them symbolically expresses thought and behavior patterns that reveal whether a writer proceeds logically or is more inclined to follow feelings.

Garland connections (downward-looping curves such as are indicated below by arrows) in their various manifestations represent the most common of the four.

In general they symbolize, on the positive side, an easy-going attitude. Openness, flexibility, tolerance, and kindness toward others are associated with this script form. Feeling is more in line with the writer's disposition than discursive or abstract thinking. On the negative side, in certain combinations, such as with a strong right slant and large size, this manifestation may indicate vanity, inability to concentrate, or stretching the truth in order to please.

Arcade connections (letters rounded on top) are generally interpreted as signs of caution and calculation. If left-slanted, these connections convey reserve to the point of suspicion. Right-tilted arcades are found in the writing of individuals who are gentle and cooperative, even obedient. They also may symbolize slowness of action and reaction in both mental and physical spheres as the execution of arcadic movements requires more time than any of the other connections. Vertical arcades in a well-organized script may reveal aesthetic tastes, creative gifts, or compliance with traditional social forms. Any interpretation, to be sure, must rest on additional supportive indicators. A fine example displaying the positive value of arcades is Thomas Edison's script:
Angular connections give the impression of rigidity. Softness, compromise, compassion do not belong in such a writer's vocabulary. Instead, resistance, force, and, if necessary, cruelty, are the means by which an objective is achieved. These writers are hardworking, dependable, willing to sacrifice; when these qualities are combined with fanaticism, however, they can become dangerous. On the positive side, they show such writers as loyal, sincere, and intelligent. With penetrating minds, such people attack problems and wrestle with them until solutions are found. The sharper the upper angles the more the mind is in control; Bismarck's signature is an example:

[Signature]

Threadlike, serpentine connections are rather difficult to interpret. Their evaluation must take place along with that of the total script. In a handwriting characterized by many negative features, threads may stand for carelessness, insincerity, or indecisiveness, especially with light pen pressure. If the threads appear only occasionally and in combination with angular connections in a simple, well organized script, written by a firm hand, they may signify independence, versatility, and creativity, as well as impatience, the latter being a reflection of the speed of thought.

Among the vast number of specific signs that enable the graphologist to identify particular personality traits are prestrokes, terminals, knots, and hooks. In general, an initial stroke that does not add to legibility or is not an essential part of a letter is considered an indication of insecurity, apprehension, or caution. The longer the prestroke, the more it shows concern over the impression a writer may make on others. It also reveals an attitude of conformity, lack of originality, and desire to please. Details seems to be more important than essence, and following is preferred to leading. Prestrokes appear most often in scripts with garland connections.

[Signature]
Occasionally prestrokes and endstrokes or t-bars show up with rounded hooks: \textsuperscript{20}. These have been interpreted by many American analysts as a sign of acquisitiveness or even greed. It is, however, more objective to see in them an expression of tenacity or stubbornness. Whenever the hook is sharp, there is the likelihood of an aggressive or vindictive disposition \textsuperscript{20}. This aggressiveness may manifest itself in a critical attitude, in caustic remarks or in actual violent behavior.

Into this category also go the variety of knots. They, too, are explained as symbols of tenacity and persistence \textsuperscript{51}. If they become an integral part of letter formations, they may acquire additional or different meanings. Thus a knot in the small letter \( o \) may point toward secretiveness or diplomacy; if the knot increases in size and develops into a loop, it may indicate a tendency to distort the truth.

\[ I \text{ am totally out of money.} \]

Finally, the way a person ends a word gives additional clues to specific characteristics. Of the many variations of terminals, or endstrokes, a few may serve for demonstration. As always, rounded movements, especially in right-slanted scripts, indicate friendliness and an outgoing nature. This becomes evident from simple upcurves that reach into the upper zone.

\[ \text{her hands were as cold as ice} \]

When the endstroke is a horizontal extension, looking like a tail, it may, on the positive side, reveal generosity, or it may express indecision or an attempt to gain time. The true meaning can be arrived at only by taking all other factors into consideration.

\[ \text{Soon be well} \]

The turning left of an endstroke almost always has a negative meaning; it conveys an attitude of defensiveness, often combined with insecurity, hypersensitivity, and introversion.
Of course, there are also scripts that don’t show any embellishment. Blunt endings, together with letters that consist of the bare minimum necessary for identification, give the impression of abruptness, coldness, and objectivity. If the endings are heavy pressured and clublike, there is the potential of rudeness.

If the downstrokes in letters such as y and g are pointed like a dagger, sadistic or sarcastic tendencies can be suspected.

I hope that these few, yet representative, samples of a vast number of specific traits, considered here with some of the major criteria, provide some insight into grapho-psychological principles and methods. For the serious student a first encounter with this still evolving diagnostic tool can be a confusing, if not an overwhelming experience, especially when the question arises as to whether to assign positive or negative value to an ambivalent sign, or how to reconcile conflicting traits.

It is indeed tempting for a beginner to “analyze” a specimen disjointedly, on the spur of the moment, simply on the basis of a few criteria. The hallmark of a professional analyst, however, is the thorough study of a sufficiently large body of handwriting, including consideration of the total gestalt of a script, which then leads to an integrated personality and character profile of the writer.

NOTES


3 “Studies of the relationships of the handwriting to personality,” Journal of Personality, 17 (1948), 430-448.


5 See Müller and Enskat, p. 25ff. This publication is probably the most advanced among the scholarly works in graphology available at present.

"Rose Wolfson, A Study in Handwriting Analysis (New York, 1949).
Pokorny, pp. 31-33.
Pokorny, p. 34.
P. 36.
"Roman, pp. 167ff.
Pulver, p. 53.
"Müller and Enskat, pp. 111-113.
"Roman, p. 47.

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Very important, though often neglected by persons of quality, is the effort to write quickly and legibly. . . . A sluggish pen delays our thoughts, while a clumsy and confused writing is hard to read, and necessitates another chore, that of dictating to a copyist.
— Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I. 28.

The pen is the tongue of the mind.
— Cervantes, Don Quixote, Bk. V, Ch. 16.

I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair, and labour’d much
How to forget that learning, but, sir, now
It did me yeoman’s service . . . .
— Shakespeare, Hamlet, V, ii, 33-36.

. . . it looked the writing of an adult who wrote an unformed hand not quite grown up.
Because in essentials he was still the schoolboy who had originally written that way . . . .
Very few people indeed did not adapt the copy-book form to their own liking, to their own unconscious need.
— Josephine Tey, The Singing Sands
Lawrence Martin

A Case for Intensive Care

Often a hospital's Intensive Care Unit can do no more than keep a patient alive while the body tries to heal itself. Without such support a critically-ill patient has no chance. Even with full ICU support, the outcome may be disastrous. Presented here is an actual case history; the names and a few identifying characteristics have been changed to prevent any possible identification.

Joe Woodbury, 35 years old, was healthy until January 11, 1982 when he developed a scratchy sore throat, no different in character or intensity from what many of us suffer every year. Even in retrospect, those early symptoms suggested nothing more sinister than a minor upper respiratory infection. Two aspirin gave some relief, but that evening he also developed a slight cough, fever of 100 degrees and a general achy feeling. His wife called their family physician, Dr. Levinson, who reviewed the symptoms over the phone. Everything certainly sounded like the classic flu syndrome, which usually gets better in three to seven days. Dr. Levinson reinforced the need for aspirin and asked to be called in two days if there was no improvement.

The next morning Mr. Woodbury was worse. He ached all over and his cough was painful, so he went to see Dr. Levinson, who listened to his heart and lungs and heard nothing unusual. Eyes, ears, nose and throat were normal except for a flushing of the mucous membranes. On the outside chance that this was a bacterial infection, he prescribed an antibiotic, erythromycin, to be taken four times a day. He reassured Mr. Woodbury and asked him to call the next day if he was no better.

That evening Mr. Woodbury developed a mild sensation of shortness of breath, what physicians call dyspnea. Partly for this reason he had a restless night and the next morning, January 13, was back in Dr. Levinson's office. Now there was also a new physical finding, cyanosis, a slight bluish skin color indicating insufficient oxygen in the blood. Dr. Levinson also found Mr. Woodbury's breathing heavier and deeper than normal. Everything pointed to a lung problem, so a chest X-ray was taken immediately. It was not normal. In the right lung was a grapefruit-sized, irregular white shadow just above the diaphragm, consistent with some type of pneumonia. Thirty minutes later Mr. Woodbury was admitted to the Medical Center's ICU (intensive care unit) with a presumed diagnosis of viral pneumonia.

The pace is fast in the ICU. Within the hour Mr. Woodbury gave a brief history to two doctors and a sputum sample to one of them, had a physical examination, several
blood tests, and another chest X-ray, and began receiving intravenous fluids. One of the blood tests, known as arterial blood gas, showed his oxygen pressure dangerously low at 37 millimeters of mercury. Normal pO2, as the test is abbreviated, is 85 to 100. To help counteract this hypoxia, an oxygen mask was set up to deliver 60% oxygen — almost triple the amount normally inhaled.

As attending physician on the ICU, I saw Mr. Woodbury soon after admission. I would describe his overall appearance as “acutely ill” — an observation based mainly on his dusky skin color, sweat over his brow and obvious breathing difficulty. Also, his muscular build and full, round face made it certain he hadn’t been ill for very long. Despite being short-winded he was alert and cooperative. He also seemed strangely optimistic for someone so precipitously admitted to the hospital, as if he perceived his condition to be easily curable by medical science. He had no particular reason to be cheerful, so I sensed this was his way of reassuring Mrs. Woodbury, who had just seen him and was now out in the waiting room.

I learned something of their family situation. The Woodburys had two children, ages four and seven. He worked as a foreman at the Ford Motor plant and his wife held a part-time secretarial job in the mornings while their younger child was in day care. Neither his children nor Mrs. Woodbury had been ill recently. Mr. Woodbury and not been hospitalized before, in fact had never been very sick, and did not smoke. He also had not been recently exposed to noxious fumes, chemicals or dusts.

I went to see Mrs. Woodbury, a petite and pretty woman in her mid-30’s. She was scared, which considering the circumstances was an appropriate reaction. Before I could explain his problem she wanted to know just how sick he was and “would he make it?” She might have sensed something in my demeanor, or my lack of smile or the way I held my head. (Some ICU physicians believe in laying out all the worst possibilities from the very beginning, at least to the patient’s family. This is called “hanging crepe,” referring to the black fabric displayed at wakes or funerals.

Once this approach is taken, anything bad that happens will have been expected; anything good will make the physician look like a hero. The truth is, I had seen many patients similar to Mr. Woodbury and “guarded” was an optimistic prognosis. Patients with such a rapidly progressive pneumonia can be dead a few days after their first symptom. Still, except in the most obvious cases of brain anoxia, to emphasize only the worst possibilities is not fair to the family and may even be self-fulfilling.)

I told Mrs. Woodbury that her husband had severe viral or bacterial pneumonia and it was seriously interfering with oxygen delivery into his blood. His course appeared so rapid that if he did not begin to recover soon he would need artificial ventilation and even that would provide only temporary support. We would order specific diagnostic tests, such as blood cultures and microscopic examination of his sputum, and continue treatment with oxygen and antibiotics. He would either respond or not and we would know in 24 to 48 hours. There was a reasonable possibility he would improve, but I could give no odds. She accepted this, which is to say all of her immediate questions were answered. I also called Dr. Levinson in his office and told him of the situation. He agreed with our approach.

The initial tests revealed increased numbers of infection-fighting white cells, both in his blood and sputum. We also found his sputum devoid of any bacteria — a finding which could be explained by his already brief use of erythromycin, which might have suppressed their growth. Alternatively, he could be infected with organisms that don’t show up on routine sputum examination — this includes all viruses and many bacteria as well. In any case, the chest X-ray, white cell count and sputum exam all suggested a diagnosis of pneumonia, but did not reveal what specific type. Dozens of different organisms — including many species of virus, bacteria, fungi and protozoa — could be responsible.

We started Mr. Woodbury on two intravenous antibiotics, erythromycin and oxacillin. It was decided to continue the erythromycin because that is the best treatment for Legionnaire’s disease, which we had not
ruled out, and also for mycoplasma pneumonia. The bacteria responsible for mycoplasma pneumonia (*mycoplasma pneumoniae*) and Legionnaire's disease (*legionella pneumophila*) share certain characteristics: both are difficult to diagnose in the first few days of illness; neither can be seen under the microscope using conventional laboratory methods; infections caused by both usually respond to erythromycin. Thus the drug seemed a logical choice for Mr. Woodbury. Oxacillin, a relative of penicillin, was chosen because it is excellent against staphylococcus. Staphylococci are a much more virulent group of bacteria than either mycoplasma or legionella; whenever a serious "staph" infection is suspected, treatment is begun immediately, without waiting for confirmation.

Mr. Woodbury did not respond. A few hours later he was still dyspneic and cyanotic and his pO2 was only 45. An oxygen pressure this low—especially while receiving extra oxygen—is always life-threatening. Improving oxygenation at this point would require a major change in management since the oxygen mask was ineffective. Mr. Woodbury needed artificial ventilation, which meant placing a tube in his trachea (the throat), a procedure called endotracheal intubation. We asked the anesthesiologist on call to come up to the ICU and intubate Mr. Woodbury.

Normal breathing, which involves inhaling and exhaling 10 to 16 times a minute, is silent, automatic and effortless. It is also not obvious to the observer. Mr. Woodbury was now breathing 40 times a minute and working very hard at it. From across the room anyone could see his neck muscles rise and fall, a sure sign of increased work of breathing—yet each breath was ineffectual and their sum not enough to sustain life.

Despite severe respiratory distress he remained alert, so I carefully explained what was going to happen. I told him intubation was absolutely necessary (the ventilator could not work otherwise), that he would have to be sedated for the procedure and that even when awake he would not be able to talk or eat. The artificial ventilator would take over the work of breathing for him. He understood and asked me to call his wife, who had since gone home. I said I would call her afterwards. Fortunately the intubation was quick and successful; he required 10 milligrams of intravenous Valium for sedation.

The ventilator—a machine about the size of a dishwasher—was hooked up to his endotracheal tube via plastic hoses about two inches wide. The tubes were set to deliver 14 breaths per minute, with the volume of each breath quadruple the amount he was breathing on his own. To make it easier for him to tolerate the endotracheal tube and not fight the ventilator we gave him another 10 milligrams of Valium.

A chest X-ray was taken with a portable machine; it now showed an abnormal whitish haze in both lungs. (An X-ray film is like the photographic negative of a black-and-white print. A white haze or shadow appears whenever pneumonia or some other abnormality blocks the X-ray beams. Bony structures such as ribs also block the beams and appear white on X-rays. Normal lung, which is mostly thin tissue surrounded by air, lets the X-rays through to develop that part of the film, which then appears black between white ribs.)

At this point the admitting diagnosis seemed correct—viral pneumonia. His sputum revealed no bacteria and it was too early for culture reports to confirm any other diagnosis. But Mr. Woodbury's distress was due to more than just viral pneumonia. In just a few hours once-healthy lung tissue had come apart, allowing plasma to leak out and flood spaces where only air should be. His chest X-rays showed the progression clearly. This acute flooding—known medically as acute pulmonary edema—is not what you see in the usual case of viral (or any other) pneumonia. His problem had progressed beyond simple pulmonary infection.

Mr. Woodbury now displayed all the classic features of ARDS, the adult respiratory distress syndrome: acute onset of severe respiratory distress; bilateral "white-out" on the chest X-ray; life-threatening hypoxia. ARDS is one of those medical entities that has been around for a long time, but only recently rec-
ARDS was recognized and defined. ARDS was first characterized in a 1967 article published in *The Lancet*, England’s famous medical weekly. (The authors were all from the University of Colorado Medical Center — it is not unusual for Americans to publish first descriptions of disease in *The Lancet*.) Drs. David Ashbaugh, D. Boyd Bigelow, Thomas Petty and Bernard Levine described twelve patients admitted to the Rocky Mountain Regional ICU, all of whom had symptoms and clinical findings similar to each other and to Mr. Woodbury: respiratory distress, severe hypoxia, leakage of fluid into both lungs and a need for artificial ventilation. These symptoms in the twelve patients were precipitated by several different events, including viral pneumonia, pancreatitis and trauma to the chest or abdomen. A few of the patients were in shock prior to the onset of their respiratory distress. (“Shock lung” is sometimes used to mean ARDS; the latter is a much broader term, as shock is only one of many conditions that can precede ARDS.)

Five of the twelve patients died, a percentage which has remained about the same to this day. At autopsy their lungs were a deep-reddish purple, much heavier and darker than normal, air-filled lungs. This reflected the tremendous inflammation and edema characteristic of ARDS.

ARDS was certainly not new in 1967. The type of patient with severe lung leakage has been described increasingly in the medical literature since World War I, when injured soldiers were often observed to die in fulminant (sudden) respiratory failure. Autopsy studies in the 1930’s and 1940’s showed that many patients dying of shock had heavy, beefy lungs. In the 1950’s and early 1960’s severe respiratory distress was described after such disparate conditions as open-heart surgery, compound leg fractures and viral pneumonia. In 1966 the term “DaNang lung” was coined to describe the respiratory picture of Americans critically wounded in Vietnam. In retrospect most—if not all—of these patients exemplified the adult respiratory distress syndrome.

The importance of the 1967 paper was in recognizing a pattern of injury not unique to one cause but the final pathway for multiple causes, and in describing the clinical features of ARDS. This subsequently allowed many patients with ARDS to be diagnosed, studied and treated in a rational, uniform fashion.

Precise statistics are unavailable, but when all the causes are considered ARDS turns out to be a common problem. In this country an estimated 75,000 to 100,000 new cases of ARDS occur each year, with about half of the patients surviving. A true incidence is difficult to come by since most ARDS cases end up classified in some other disease category, such as “viral pneumonia” or “multiple trauma.” Most ARDS patients are under the age of 65 with no prior history of lung disease. ARDS is not due to heart failure, although a rapidly failing heart can sometimes cause a similar clinical picture. (Some physicians prefer the terms “cardiac pulmonary edema” for severe heart failure and “non-cardiac pulmonary edema” for ARDS.)

ARDS is distinct from infant respiratory distress syndrome, also known as hyaline membrane disease—a condition that claimed the life of John and Jacqueline Kennedy’s son on August 9, 1963, two days after birth. Infant ARDS is due solely to premature birth and lack of a normal lung chemical called surfactant. While lack of surfactant plays a role in ARDS, it is not the primary cause.

Little has been learned about the pathophysiology of ARDS since 1967. Basically it involves the leakage of plasma and protein out of pulmonary capillaries, flooding millions of tiny airspaces. (Our lungs are a collection of 300,000,000 or so microscopic airspaces, called alveoli; each alveolus is surrounded by numerous capillaries that take in oxygen and give off carbon dioxide. Normally the barrier between the airspaces and capillaries allows gases to exchange but nothing else, certainly not plasma and large protein molecules.) Why plasma and proteins leak out of the capillaries is not known. There are many theories but none is universally or even widely accepted.

One problem in understanding ARDS is that most patients suffering the commonly-associated medical conditions, such as shock or viral pneumonia, do not end up with leaky
lungs. It is for unknown reasons that some victims manifest florid pulmonary edema while others, in a similar clinical situation, maintain fluid-free lungs.

Though there have been some advances in the management of ARDS, none is considered specific therapy; in the jargon of intensive care they are referred to as “supportive,” as opposed to “curative.” One general advance is the ICU itself, a development dating from the 1930’s when polio victims were first concentrated for better care. The modern ICU, with electronic monitoring, artificial ventilators and specially trained staff, evolved in the 1960’s and spread nationwide in the 1970’s. Today every hospital of more than minuscule size has at least one area where modern monitoring technology and skilled nursing are concentrated. This is the true meaning of intensive care. (Though the concept of the ICU makes a lot of intuitive sense, the benefit of ICU’s in reducing mortality has not been proved for most illnesses, including ARDS. Given the critical condition of these patients and the fact that only half may survive the illness, it is not an experiment anyone cares to perform; no one wants to give any ARDS patient less care than that available in the ICU.)

Another advance is the artificial ventilator, which has become more compact and reliable over the years. Unlike the old iron lungs, which hampered nursing contact with the patients, today’s artificial ventilators stand at the side of the bed and are connected to the patient through flexible tubing. They pump air into the lungs, rather than suck air from around the chest cage, which is what the iron lungs did. And modern ventilators can work round the clock for weeks with no more than routine bedside maintenance. It is seldom that any patient dies today from inability to be machine-ventilated.

Today’s ventilators are also able, at the twist of a knob, to deliver positive end-expiratory pressure, known worldwide as “PEEP” (pronounced to rhyme with beep). This extra airway pressure - maintained at the end of each breath - helps keep the alveoli open longer so more oxygen can enter the blood. PEEP for ARDS was first reported in the 1967 paper, although its roots go back much further. In the late 1940’s pioneering jet aircraft pilots used positive-pressure face masks to increase their oxygen pressure at high altitudes.

Clinical use of PEEP was only conjecture until the Colorado physicians placed five of their ARDS patients on positive airway pressure. Three of the five lived whereas only two of the seven non-PEEPed patients survived. Because of the small numbers of patients these results were, in the parlance of medical investigation, merely anecdotal, but they were enough to place PEEP in the pantheon of ICU techniques. PEEP’s main use is to increase oxygen pressure in the blood without using extremely high, and potentially toxic, concentrations of inhaled oxygen.

PEEP is not without hazards; because of the increase in positive airway pressure the lungs can sometimes “blow out” like a burst tire. PEEP can also prevent the normal flow of blood into and out of the heart and cause heart failure. These complications are manageable--and to a large extent preventable--with careful monitoring.

Machines that easily and rapidly measure blood oxygen and carbon dioxide tensions (the “blood gases”) are another evolutionary development. Various methods for blood gas measurement have been available for decades, but technically easy and rapid measurements only since the late 1950’s when new types of gas electrodes were introduced. Today, caring for critically-ill patients without blood gas measurements would seem like driving fast in a dense fog. You might make it but you would probably crash. Before the blood gas test was widely available physicians literally guessed at the blood oxygen and carbon dioxide tensions. It was a real crapshoot. Doctors now appreciate the unreliability, for sick patients, of clinically assessing blood gases.

Yet another advance has been a special type of cardiac catheter – a long, thin tube about 1/16 inch wide with a tiny, inflatable balloon on one end. The catheter is trademarked “Swan-Ganz” (Edwards Laboratories, Inc., Santa Ana, California) after H.J.C. Swan and William Ganz, two Los Angeles cardiologists.
Drs. Swan and Ganz (along with four others) published their now classic article in a 1970 issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, "Catheterization of the Heart in Man with use of a Flow-Directed Balloon-Tipped Catheter." Since then "Swan-Ganz" catheterization has taken ICU's by storm. ICU staff speak of inserting a “Swan-Ganz,” "Swanning" the patient or of the patient being "Swanned." No other medical proprietary name has become so universalized in recent memory.

Most patients who develop ARDS (or one of several other critical heart-lung problems) will sooner or later have a Swan-Ganz catheter placed in their heart. The single major advantage over any previously used catheter is its ability to be accurately placed from the bedside. The patient does not have to be removed to a catheterization lab and, furthermore, bedside measurements can now be obtained on a continuous basis.

(The Swan-Ganz catheter modifies an old technique. Credit for the first cardiac catheterization is given to the German physician Werner Forssmann, whose story is now legend. In 1929, as a recently-graduated doctor working at Augusta-Viktoria Hospital in Eberswalde, near Berlin, Dr. Forssmann conceived the idea of threading a long, thin catheter through an arm vein and into one of the heart's right-sided chambers. His superior refused permission for such a daring study, so Dr. Forssmann clandestinely did it anyway—using himself as subject! He confirmed the catheter's placement with a chest X-ray and published the results in *Klinische Wochenschrift* later that year. The medical possibilities lay dormant until the 1940's when Dickinson W. Richards, Jr., and André Cournand, working at Bellevue Hospital, began a systematic study of heart catheterization. Their work revolutionized cardiac diagnosis and paved the way for open heart surgery. In 1956 Drs. Forssmann, Richards and Cournand shared the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine.)

Corticosteroids are not without problems. Months or years of high dosages, for example 40 milligrams of prednisone a day, can lead to severe complications, such as brittle bones, weight gain, diabetes, cataracts and adrenal insufficiency. Fortunately not many illnesses require such high doses for long periods.

Short-term, very high-dose corticosteroids seem to be beneficial to some ARDS patients. Dosages may go as high as several hundred milligrams of daily prednisone or its equivalent, for a week or so. (The body normally makes corticosteroid equivalent to about 5 milligrams of prednisone each day.) In a few cases the lung infiltrates disappear within days after steroids are given. In other patients there is no effect. Medical literature on the subject is a mess. Some articles are enthusiastic about these drugs and others con-
demn their use as unscientific.

Being practical-minded, most physicians give a trial of high-dose steroids in ARDS, hoping they will be of some benefit. Dr. Petty, who has, since 1967, written much on the subject of ARDS, recommends steroids in most cases. Other physicians, adhering to some perverse form of caution, withhold them until the disease has reached an irreversible point; the perversity is that a short course—several days of steroids—is of no proven harm.

Despite these advances, and even though we surely manage the syndrome more rationally, have more measurements and understand the physiology much better than 15 years ago, the mortality rate in ARDS still hovers around 50%. Statistics for ARDS before the mid-60's are not known, mainly because the heterogeneous nature of the syndrome was not recognized. But it is not unreasonable to assume a much higher ARDS mortality without these intensive-care maneuvers.

The key to treatment is supporting the patient long enough for the lungs to heal. Once lungs fail in their capacity to deliver oxygen either they must recover in a short time or the patient dies. Artificial ventilation for lung failure is measured in days or weeks, not months or years. There is no long-term “dialysis” as exists for kidney failure. If the patient is not destined to recover lung function no amount of support can keep him alive indefinitely.

Patients who don’t recover usually succumb to sepsis, cardiac arrhythmia, internal bleeding or some other catastrophe. One of the saddest spectacles in medicine is to see a patient die with progressive respiratory failure despite the panoply of state-of-the-art, intensive-care technology. Amazingly, those who recover from ARDS, which is surely one of the most serious insults to afflict any organ, end up with normal or nearly normal lung function. ARDS seems to be an all-or-nothing phenomenon.

On the ventilator Mr. Woodbury's pO2 went up to 84 millimeters of mercury. This was adequate but far from normal, since he was inhaling 80% oxygen—almost four times the normal concentration. An expected pO2 under these conditions is over 400. He was also receiving PEEP at 10 centimeters of water pressure, a moderate amount.

We gave him two grams of an intravenous corticosteroid, a single dose several hundred times the body’s own daily output. Through a neck vein we inserted a Swan-Ganz catheter and threaded it into his heart. Unfortunately the catheter did not work at first, or rather the measurements did not make sense, as sometimes happens. A chest X-ray revealed the problem. The catheter tip was coiled inside Mr. Woodbury’s chest. After pulling back and reinserting the catheter we were able to get the measurements needed to guide fluid therapy.

This was the scene about 7 p.m., some nine hours after Mr. Woodbury’s admission. A young, previously healthy man lay semiconscious in bed, sedated with Valium. In addition to the endotracheal tube, now firmly taped to his face so as not to slip out, four other tubes violated his body: the Swan-Ganz catheter, through a neck vein; an intravenous catheter, through an arm vein; a special arterial catheter, previously inserted into the radial artery in his right wrist and used for drawing blood gases and monitoring blood pressure; and a soft rubber bladder tube, earlier placed through his penis so that urine output could be measured.

Clear plastic tubing connected the several bags of intravenous fluid to Mr. Woodbury’s body; in the aggregate all the tubes looked like vines of some science-fiction forest. Interspersed between the vines were several pieces of electronic monitoring equipment: one to measure heart rate and rhythm, another to display the Swan-Ganz readings and a third to show his blood pressure. Just to the right of his head was the ventilator with its reassuring “whoosh” of air being pumped into his lungs, a sound repeated 14 times every minute.

(At a glance, scenes like that surrounding Mr. Woodbury may appear unreal, certainly not the picture of human care. Doctors
and nurses sometimes have to remind themselves that ICU patients like Mr. Woodbury are in fact human, possessing normal capacity to live and love. When we forget this we are dealing not with patients as much as “heart-lung preparations,” and the outcome is no more important than an interesting experiment. Intensive care can certainly give the appearance of an exercise in gross physiology. In truth, like some technologic fail-safe mechanism, internal reminders of the patient’s humanity constantly arise and help guide us.

After discussing the next twelve hours’ care with the nurses and resident staff I left for the evening. Mr. Woodbury was one of five intensive care patients in our ICU at the time, yet by far the sickest. No major changes in therapy were planned and we hoped for an uneventful night.

The next morning, January 14, Mr. Woodbury was not much better. During ICU rounds we reviewed the accumulated data: several chest X-rays, many blood test results, microbiology reports of his sputum, vital sign sheets. We double-checked the medication records and nursing reports. He was receiving the drugs on time and in the correct amount. Throughout the night he had been suctioned frequently and turned in his bed as recommended (lying in one place for prolonged periods is bad for any patient, especially those with ARDS). There was no doubt in anyone’s mind — Mr. Woodbury was receiving superb nursing and doctor care, yet he was not improving.

The information so far pointed to an infectious pneumonia as the initial event. Was he on the right antibiotics? The lack of definitive culture reports (still too early for many organisms to grow) and absence of bacteria in his sputum suggested a virus or one of the difficult-to-diagnose bacteria. Could he instead have an unusual fungal or parasitic infection, also difficult to uncover and requiring altogether different antibiotics? And if so, how did he get it? Mr. Woodbury had no history of a compromised immune system, the common setting for “opportunistic infections” (so-called because ordinary fungi and parasites take the opportunity to invade a weakened host). Unusual infections can also occur in bird-handlers, pigeon-breeders and farmers, occupations remote from anything in his experience.

We decided to ask for help and called Dr. Dumont of the Infectious Disease Service. Since Dr. Dumont also ran the microbiology lab he already knew about Mr. Woodbury, at least about all his negative lab results. He sent his clinical fellow to the ICU and an hour later Dr. Dumont himself appeared, fully armed with all the data and his tentative conclusions. He didn’t waste any time.

“You’ve got to treat him for Legionnaire’s and pneumocystis.” We had continued the erythromycin because of possible Legionnaire’s disease and had considered pneumocystis, but thought it a highly unlikely infection in Mr. Woodbury. Pneumocystis is a protozoan that occasionally invades kidney-transplant recipients and immunologically-compromised infants, but rarely healthy adults. Until Mr. Woodbury became suddenly ill, he was a healthy adult.

“I don’t think it’s pneumocystis but we can’t be sure,” he continued. “Let’s stop the oxacillin and add Bactrim. If he doesn’t respond in 48 hours we’ll consider an open lung biopsy. Meantime, up his steroids to four grams a day and send a serum sample to the lab for fungal titers.”

Bactrim — a trade name for trimethoprim-sulfamethoxasole — is the current treatment of choice for pneumocystis. It is effective and at the same time relatively free of major side effects. Since there was no reason not to follow his recommendations we ordered the Bactrim and increased the steroid dose.

As for open-lung biopsy, this is major surgery and used for diagnosis only as a last resort. There was also no assurance that a piece of Mr. Woodbury’s lung, under the microscope, would in fact yield an answer. He was not ready for an open-lung biopsy.

In the afternoon I met with Mrs. Woodbury. She came without the children, mainly because ICU policy does not permit children to visit. I told her about Dr. Dumont and our suppositions. She was not discouraged but also not encouraged. It was just too early to know which way her husband was headed.
Dr. Levinson also came by and we discussed the case. He reassured me that nothing important was missed in Mr. Woodbury's past history and that whatever precipitated this crisis was acute and probably infectious. (Although private family physicians frequently will follow their patients in the ICU, it is not feasible to manage any critically ill patient from an outside office. It's no reflection on primary-care physicians, in this case Dr. Levinson, to have their ICU patients under the care of full time, hospital-based doctors. It is simply the best arrangement for the patient, a fact most office-based physicians well appreciate.)

The rest of the day Mr. Woodbury maintained a pO2 in the 60's on 10 centimeters of PEEP and 60% oxygen. On the evening of January 14, his second day in the hospital, his pO2 suddenly dropped to 35; a portable chest X-ray showed that his endotracheal tube had slipped into his right lung, effectively bypassing his left lung which was now collapsed. The tube was pulled back, restoring breathing to both lungs and pushing the pO2 back up to 59 — still a low level but not life-threatening. A check of his electrocardiogram, urine output and blood pressure uncovered no damage from the transient hypoxia.

On January 15 we received the preliminary culture, microbiology and toxicology reports from specimens taken on admission. (On the outside chance some toxic chemical was the culprit a complete "toxic screen" of his urine and blood had been ordered the day of admission.) Everything so far was "negative": there was no obvious or easily-diagnosed bacterial infection or toxin. This did not exclude the possibility of Legionnaire's, mycoplasma or a viral infection — all organisms which usually take weeks to diagnose because they require a convalescent blood specimen. (Antibody levels in the convalescent specimen are compared with levels when the patient is acutely ill; a diagnosis is made when antibody to the infecting organism increases four-fold in the interval.)

So forty-eight hours after admission we had no way of knowing what Mr. Woodbury had or if our treatment was effective. Whether or not he would improve seemed as likely to depend on the natural course of his illness as on any treatment. On Dr. Dumont's advice we continued the erythromycin and Bactrim. Throughout January 15 his temperature hovered between 101 and 102 degrees.

There was still no improvement on January 16. His pO2 ranged between 50 and 60, on 60% oxygen and 10 centimeters of PEEP; the chest X-ray continued to display a "white-out" in both lungs; and we continued to use small doses of Valium to sedate him and allow the machine to keep him alive. The steroids had not only caused his body to become puffy, a predictable side effect, but had also produced diabetes, a not uncommon result when massive doses are used; his blood sugar went to over 400 milligrams percent (normal is less than 100) and required insulin injections to control.

Now the picture was bleak, not because he was worse but because he was not improving. Patients who don't improve invariably die; ARDS is not a chronic condition anyone can live with. In desperation we began to consider an open-lung biopsy. What would a lung biopsy offer? Not much, unless he had some weird infection we had otherwise missed. What were the risks? General anesthesia and major — albeit technically not difficult — surgery in a critically ill patient. Perhaps an operative mortality rate of one or two percent. We discussed the procedure with his wife, with Dr. Dumont and, tentatively, with the thoracic surgeon. Somewhat reluctantly — since we doubted it would be revelatory — we scheduled a lung biopsy for January 18.

He showed the first sign of improvement on January 17. You wouldn't know it unless you had been following his blood gases. He certainly looked no different and his X-ray still showed the diffuse haze in both lungs. But his pO2 was now up to 95 on the same concentration of oxygen. This indicated some microscopic clearing of his lungs, not yet visible on the X-ray. In retrospect this was a dramatic turnaround.

We lowered his oxygen concentration a little and still his pO2 held. On 50% oxygen, four hours later, his pO2 was 92. We left things there. Something was working, probably the natural healing process we had been...
hoping for. We had no way of knowing if the steroids or antibiotics or PEEP or all three (or none) had helped turn his course. As often happens in ARDS, there was no indication of why he was suddenly improving. We cancelled the lung biopsy.

On January 18, breathing 40% oxygen, his pO2 was 123. The pattern was now one of definite and sustained improvement. Except for the side effects of the steroids and the discomfort of the various tubes, Mr. Woodbury was doing well. We had stopped the sedatives and he was alert. His X-ray also began to show some clearing, the white areas melting away to reveal normal or clear lung fields. We removed the Swan-Ganz and arterial catheters and his urine tube.

As suddenly as he had deteriorated, he got better. Miraculously, we were able to disconnect the ventilator on the afternoon of January 18. The endotracheal tube was left in place another two hours, just in case he became worse, and he received humidified oxygen through the tube. There was no problem and he was able to breathe on his own, through the tube.

About 4 p.m. that afternoon the endotracheal tube was pulled out of his throat.

Mr. Woodbury was discharged from the ICU on January 20 and from the hospital on January 24. He returned to work February 15. I next saw him, as an outpatient, February 19, at which time breathing tests, including an arterial blood gas, were near normal. His blood sugar was also normal, the diabetes having cleared after the steroids were stopped. Convalescent antibody titers were drawn. At a followup visit in June he was still doing well. Except for some slight decrease in exercise tolerance he has suffered no noticeable aftereffects.

He doesn't remember much of his ICU experience. He does remember going to the hospital and can recall the physical setting in the ICU but most details, even from a patient's point of view, remain a blur.

We never made a specific diagnosis. All the antibody titers were non-diagnostic. In retrospect, considering all the negative laboratory results, a viral infection seems most likely, both for his early symptoms and the subsequent picture of ARDS. However, so many strains of virus can cause pneumonia that when only one person is infected (as opposed to an epidemic, like influenza), the responsible virus usually goes undetected.

Most viral illnesses are self-limiting and this seemed to fit Mr. Woodbury's course, except that he developed ARDS and became critically ill. With the aid of intensive-care support — particularly artificial ventilation and round-the-clock care by nurses and doctors — he proceeded to get better on his own. Without this support he would surely have died.
Larry R. Sherman and Nancy L. Carney

The False Saint Nicholas

Detecting and evaluating a forged nineteenth-century icon

Museums and art collectors are haunted by the possibility of forgeries among the works in which they have invested thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands of dollars. The value of any piece of art usually depends as much on its provenance as on its intrinsic aesthetic merit, and in order to determine that a work is what the seller represents it to be, experts have developed sophisticated techniques of analysis, including the use of X-rays and infra-red photography, spectrographic analysis, and neutron-activation analysis. The small collector, who buys art for its aesthetic appeal, is less concerned with documenting its authenticity; still, one likes to know what one is buying.

In June, 1980, one of the authors, Nancy Carney, was browsing through an antique shop in Istanbul, where she was vacationing, and came upon a Russian icon with a silver riza (a partial cover — described below). The Carney family, like many members of the Orthodox Church in America, follow the ancient tradition of maintaining an icon corner in their home. Here are hung images of Christ, the Virgin, and saints, for veneration. There is usually a votive light, and daily prayers are offered in the presence of the icons.

Mrs. Carney questioned the dealer’s assertion that the icon was over a hundred years old, but thought the piece was “nice looking,” and offered a third of the price asked. The dealer accepted the offer, and the icon took its place in the Carneys’ icon corner. At a dinner party, the other author, Larry Sherman, also a member of the Orthodox Church and interested in icons, noticed the new acquisition. The dealer accepted the offer, and the icon took its place in the Carneys’ icon corner. At a dinner party, the other author, Larry Sherman, also a member of the Orthodox Church and interested in icons, noticed the new acquisition. The icon appeared to be genuine late eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century Russian work; but he thought the painting was a modern forgery. Though the analysis leading to this conclusion does not constitute a really sophisticated piece of art detective work, it will perhaps interest readers because the description entails a good bit of information about icons in general, and they are a fascinating subject in themselves.
History and Qualities of Icons

Since Old Testament times the second Commandment's prohibition of "graven images" has been variously interpreted. In Eastern Christianity, opinion on the value and permissibility of sacred images was for centuries divided. In 726, a violent dispute broke out between clergy who favored image veneration (iconolaters) and those who opposed the use of icons in the Church (iconoclasts). Iconoclast fanatics destroyed many icons throughout the Byzantine empire. But in 753 iconoclasm was overthrown in Constantinople and religious images became generally accepted.

After the conversion in 989 of Vladimir the Great, Russia's first Christian ruler, Byzantine workmen were brought to Russia to build and adorn new churches. Many Russian artists were sent to Byzantium to learn the art of mosaic and icon painting. The Russian artists rejected perspective and three-dimensional modeling, as well as naturalistic portraiture; yet into their flat paintings they introduced a deep, humanizing warmth, bringing a distant God closer to the understanding of the people. Their effectiveness was often the result of superb use of color. The style of early icons was strictly governed by canons laid down by the Mount Athos monasteries, and painting became almost an affair of dogma; one ancient iconographer, for example, warned, "He that shall paint an icon from his own imagination shall suffer endless torment."

Icons appealed to the deepest feeling of the people. Every Orthodox Russian had a guardian saint or angel, usually a namesake, and often carried a miniature icon of the patron in his pocket. The icon was regarded as the actual physical incarnation of a divine presence, not merely a likeness. Icons of saints were often hung over the bed. When someone died, the family had a commemorative icon painted and displayed in the local church. Sacred images of Christ, the Virgin, the saints, and angels mirrored the devotion of a country where religious fervor was a fact of daily life. Before the Revolution they were found in every church and home, from palace to peasant's hut.

Icons, varying from a few inches to five feet square, were painted on wooden panels. Lime wood, pine, alder, and fir were used, but the preferred wood was linden. The panels were either one solid piece of wood or several glued together to prevent warping. After the wood panel was sanded and thoroughly dried, it was coated with a thin layer of gesso (a preparation of glue made from hides mixed with plaster of Paris or chalk). When dry, the surface was smoothed with a knife, rubbed with pumice, and finally polished to a high gloss with a bone. The artist made a sketch using garlic or onion juice, a brew of kvass (rye beer), or a mixture of sugar and soot, and then fixed the design by engraving with a needle-like instrument. Next he laid gold leaf over a primer coat of dull yellow or red, mixed with red wine and covered with a mixture of earth, egg yolk, and a small quantity of vegetable or animal fat.

There were two methods for applying paint: the wet method, using loaded brushes, produced thin washes of color; the dry method, in which brushes were barely moistened with medium, gave a smooth, compact surface which acquired only a degree of transparency under varnish. The final process in painting an icon was the application of olif, a varnish composed of boiled linseed oil and amber. The icon was placed in a horizontal position and covered with varnish for several hours. When the varnish began to thicken, the surplus was removed with the palm of the hand and the icon was placed face to the wall to dry, to insure slow drying and freedom from dust.

Early fourteenth-century church architecture introduced the iconostasis, or screen which separates the body of the church from the sanctuary. The origin of the iconostasis in the Russian church is not known but it is thought to have originated in Novgorod. This screen, solidly built from side to side and from floor to roof on both sides of the royal doors, contains five — or, rarely, seven — tiers of icons in a prescribed order.

Special icons acquired the reputation of being able to perform miracles. People often made long journeys to visit these icons. According to the chronicles one icon was "a defense against murder, plague, winds, shivering, poisonous animals, enemies, and the bite of mosquitoes." Icons were often taken into fields to guarantee good harvests and carried into orchards to kill harmful insects. The
wonder-working icon at the shrine of the Iberian Virgin in Moscow was so revered that pious families paid liberally to have it transported by two monks to christenings, weddings, and other private ceremonies. 6

The most famous icon, the Madonna of Vladimir, was brought from Constantinople to Kiev in the twelfth century and later taken to the new city of Vladimir. This icon, believed to have been painted by St. Luke, is credited with miraculous curing powers. It was brought to Moscow when Tamerlane threatened the city in 1395. On the day it reached Moscow, Tamerlane retreated. This icon is believed to have saved the city on three different occasions from invasion of foreign armies, through divine intervention.

Another miracle-working icon was the Virgin of the Sign (or the Virgin Orans). Legend tells us that during the reign of Andrei Bogoliubski, while under attack by Suzdalians, the icon was taken from the Church of the Savior, in the trading quarter of Vladimir, to the other side of the city. When an arrow struck the icon, the figure of the Virgin turned away; the Suzdalians were panic-stricken and fled. 7

The custom of embellishing icons with metal haloes, crowns and collars, and with jewels was established in pre-Mongol Kiev. It was later expanded to include a stamped metal shield placed over the background. In the seventeenth century, icons were covered by an elaborate metal frame (the riza or oklad) which covered all except the essential sections of the painting, the hands and faces. Later icon painters often did only the features, leaving blank the backgrounds which were covered with the riza. These coverings may have evolved from an attempt to protect the icons from the smoke of candles and incense or from extinction by a profane touch: it is a custom upon entering an Orthodox church to kiss the icon, and it was a common belief that the vital religious essence of the icon would evaporate with the first profane touch. 8

The riza was made of precious metals and set with jewels. At the Cathedral of St. Isaac in St. Petersburg, one icon frame contained twelve pounds of gold and silver, besides pearls and precious stones. 9 At the Voskresenskii Monastery, founded by Patriarch Nikon, the riza for the icon of the Iberian Virgin was set with twelve large diamonds and fifty-three small ones, eighty rubies and sixty-three amethysts. 10

The elaboration of the riza marked the degeneration in the art of icon painting. As the artist became more restricted by the rules governing icon painting, he turned his talents to the embellishment of icon frames rather than the painting of icons.

The False Nicholas

The Riza. The icon co-author Carney bought (Figure 1) is Russian in style and depicts St. Nicholas of Myra (a small city in Asia Minor) vested as a Russian Orthodox bishop; he is flanked on the left by a small icon of Christ and on the right by the Virgin Mary. The riza is hammered silver in an eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century style.

As is frequently the case, this riza covers all but the hands and faces of the figures. This
type of riza became very popular at the end of the eighteenth century; during this period the art of riza production was highly developed; indeed, as mentioned earlier, it was often technically superior to that of icon painting. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the icons in Russian churches and in the homes of wealthier Orthodox Christians had been covered with elaborate rizas made of gold, silver, and copper, many of which were decorated with jewels and precious stones. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century and before World War I a liturgical and iconographic revival occurred in the Russian Orthodox Church. Both the church hierarchy and the monastic orders encouraged priests and laymen to return to the ancient practices of the church. Many examples of modern Westernized painting were removed from the churches and replaced with the ancient Byzantine icons or with new ones painted in a Byzantine style. By the time of the Russian Revolution, most of the rizas had been removed from the icons in Russian churches in accordance with this conservative trend.

Many of the faithful, however, still preferred rizas on their own icons, and inexpensive ones can still be purchased with rizas (Figure 2 is an example). In this illustration, the riza is stamped out of a thin sheet of gold foil.

The riza under study is a good example of eighteenth-century silver work. Each fold of the garments has been etched into the silver, and the metals have been hammered to highlight items and give them a three-dimensional appearance (Figure 3). Rizas made at the end of the nineteenth century or in the twentieth century usually do not show this marked relief or highlighting.

The metal in this riza is about 3 mm. in thickness, in contrast to less than 1 mm. for the modern icon shown in Figure 2. The reverse side of the riza shows some corrosion and silver soldering. This might indicate that the riza was made for a different icon, but the evidence is not definitive. Rizas and the icons themselves were often made in a different location. Cutting and soldering occurred when a riza did not quite fit the icon for which it was prepared. Only one small repair appears to be recent and it may have been made at the time the forged icon was attached to the riza. Though everything suggests that this riza is an authentic late-eighteenth-century or early-nineteenth-century piece of silverwork, verification of this hypothesis would require a spectrographic analysis of the metal, which would cost too much, considering the modest value of this icon.
The painting itself is a forgery, as anyone would recognize who is moderately knowledgeable about the style and technique used by iconographers before the Russian Revolution.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, icons were painted on wood, normally dadoed, with a cross piece of wood inserted to minimize warping, as is the case with this one. Careful inspection with a magnifying glass indicates that the board is an old piece of wood, for at the exposed wooden edge there is minor evidence of dry rot. These facts suggest the authenticity of the icon, but they are not reinforced by other evidence. Icon painters always covered the wood with gesso (plaster of Paris and glue) as a primer; the coating appeared to co-author Sherman, who is a chemist, to have all the physical properties of modern house paint. Icons were usually painted with egg tempera, which yields a very flat surface, but under a magnifying glass it can be seen that this icon has the ridges and uneven paint buildup which is typical of oil paint. On a good eighteenth-century icon, the entire surface would have been painted, and the riza would have been made to duplicate the icon. Only the hands and faces are painted in this icon (Figure 4). The lack of a full background, however, does not necessarily indicate a modern forgery. Less expensive icons, especially those made by the mass production workshops after around 1750, were not totally painted. These inexpensive icons were usually hung in chapels or in icon corners and the riza was rarely if ever removed, so no one would see what was underneath.

Painted eighteenth-century icons were usually covered with a thick coating of copal varnish. The varnish usually turned black after 70 or 80 years and had to be removed and the icon recoated if the image of the saint was to be seen. No varnish is evident on this icon. However, many twentieth-century restorers have removed the old varnish and chosen not to revarnish the icon, as is true of the icon in Figure 5, so that the lack of varnish is not a definite indication of the icon's age.

The icon under scrutiny is not painted in a Byzantine style, which would have been used in one of the better Russian workshops. The texture of the paint strokes are those characteristic of a modern painter rather than completely flat painting characteristic of Byzantine artists painting with egg tempera. The painting was amateurishly antiqued by the modern procedure of splattering wood stain on the picture; a good example can be seen with a 7-power magnifying glass below the left corner of St. Nicholas's mouth. The quality of the painting of this icon is at best mediocre and without the riza the icon has no value. Though accurate dating would be possible only through sophisticated instrumental analyses, careful inspection detects no aging in the painting, which was probably made in the last ten or fifteen years.

Thus we conclude that the riza is probably from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, but the painting is modern. This odd arrangement leads to speculation about how and why the parts were found together as described. Since the icon board is an old piece of wood that has been dadoed, it is possible that the original painting was badly damaged and a previous owner removed the board and commissioned a new painting.
based on the original. The unknown artist may have sanded the board with a belt sander (there is one small flaw in the board in the upper right-hand corner to justify this speculation), coated it with white paint, and painted the picture of St. Nicholas. Although this does not seem to be the most probable solution, it cannot be ruled out without a more sophisticated study.

As part of the antireligious campaign prior to the mid-1960s, the Soviet government prohibited the manufacture and sale of icons and encouraged their export to deny the faithful Orthodox worshippers access to their sacred objects. But this only enhanced their value inside the Soviet Union, and when the government decided in the 1960s that it had been encouraging the theft and destruction of a valuable art heritage, a new policy was adopted prohibiting the export of any pre-Revolutionary icons. The current policy has increased the value of the Russian icons in circulation throughout the Free World. Because there is a large demand for both icons and rizas, it is most likely that the original painting was removed and the riza and painting were sold separately. If the entire background of the original icon was painted, it would have been very valuable — more than the asking price for the icon under study.

Although the metal work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was often more artistic than the icon paintings themselves, a riza such as the one on this icon has little value except as a curiosity. Thus, if the riza were acquired by either a faithful Orthodox Christian or someone who desired an icon for artistic merit, a painting would have had to be commissioned to give value to the riza. This solution would appear to be the most likely explanation of the forgery and would account for unusual circumstance of a valuable antique riza on an inexpensive modern painting. It would also explain why the antique dealer was willing to sell the icon for only one-third of his asking price.

Figure 5. An eighteenth-century Greek icon of St. Nicholas (left) and same icon with riza removed (right), showing the technique usually followed by iconographers.
NOTES

Mount Athos is a peninsula in northern Greece on which are located sixteen monasteries housing over five thousand monks.

For some of the information in this and the following paragraph the authors are indebted to Robert Wallace and the editors of Time-Life Books, *Rise of Russia* (New York: Time, Inc., 1967).


The royal doors gave access to the altar through the iconostasis and were entered only by the clergy.


White, p. 20.

Rice, *Concise History*, p. 10.


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"NO STRANGER COULD HAVE SAID"

for John Gardner, 1933-1982

That you should have started out with "The Resurrection" is only, perhaps, one of your minor flaws. Your timing was in fact rather perfect; the sequence may have been unusual; you had the beat. You stood.

What dialogues you held with yourself, us, the world of light, darkness, Grendel, Chaucer, October! Freddy was no more alien to you than Agathon or the wreckage Nickel Mountain exacts on seeker and un-

Seeker alike. Illinois and Pennsylvania and New York, their heartland and trees and country roads, also had their ghosts, their college towns, their universities; not, necessarily, their fiction.

Which you understood was moral; or, the attempt, at least. Could never, you understood, be very fashionable; at best be granted a large ability and written off as beyond the domain of what you undertook, what

You claimed to the end could be taken. Now, no one knows. On a road out beyond where William Penn never ventured and beneath elms soon you desired with your wife once again, you expired into the world

Of light. Hurtling perhaps or slowly like a dream. You became your own novelist; the words now written: Weep.

— James A. Miller

James A. Miller, who says he is "at least a native Buckeye, perhaps aboriginal," works in the emergency room of a local hospital. His poetry has been published in a number of magazines and anthologies.
FICTION: Two Short-Short Stories by Robert R. Fox

The Malarky Sisters

The Malarky sisters stepped out of the past or out of nowhere, ridiculously out of place and belonging to no one, seated in our living room, claiming they were related, an Irish connection to the Polish (or Russian) blood and you didn’t even know we existed did you? Charming us in an abstract and pitiful way, pleading for acceptance. They sat together on the couch, all four of them crammed in, wearing their ancient hats with veils that partially softened their stark white faces with bold circles of rouge on their cheeks, and a perfume of the sort worn only by decaying spinsters.

It did not seem as if any of them were very bright, or that any one of them could complete a sentence on their own, yet they knew the details of our family and where they were connected, and how could their kinship not be so, though it was a surprise to us? It made us uncomfortable that they knew our family so well—not that they mentioned intimate details in a prying or gossipy way—just alluded to them to assure us they were in the right home.

It did not bother them that the living room was so dark, or that the once spectacularly modern Scandinavian furniture was now coming apart at the seams, or that the paint and the wallpaper beneath it were peeling off the walls, or that the carpenters who had built the bookcase had used knotty pine and never primed it before painting it and now the knots and the grain were showing through.

So they were obviously not after elegance or even status in tracking us down. Though we had never heard of them. We had heard of some distantly related English royalty who had supposedly disappeared during the Second World War. But the Malarky sisters had denied such a connection with impartial veracity—"an allusion to us"—one of them laughed, "Though we are certainly not from royalty, either English or Irish." They tittered and fluttered their lace handkerchiefs and drank their tea and ate two butter cookies each and were as polite as can be. Though we had our doubts at first, they could not have come so far, assured that we were related, assured that we would be there to welcome them, and not be correct. Sometimes they made no sense at all—this was after they had established their identity and were able to relax. They giggled uncontrollably at times, each one igniting the others' laughter like teenagers, until one of them realized we did not share the humor, and then with red faces they recomposed themselves.

They took a brief tour of the house that indicated they had no grasp at all of the simplest practical or mechanical details, asking questions like: "What does that cord do?" or "What on earth do those switches operate?" and they were even unfamiliar with certain modern kitchen appli-
ances. Where did they live? How did they function in these times, even with servants (for surely none of them had ever lifted a finger in a household chore) and not know of such things?

The Malarky sisters did not overstay their welcome. As they got up to go they apologized for having intruded, delighted that they had been made welcome, and when we asked for their address and expressed a desire to keep in touch, they became vague and made light of it in their confused tittering shared sentences, conveying the understanding that they were in the midst of moving, were presently staying at a hotel whose accommodations were less than could be expected, and they would change sites again until their permanent relocation was complete, but that they would surely contact us again once they were resettled, and each offered us a hand in turn.

It was not until they were gone that we discovered the first glove, and the second, and then the third and fourth — that each sister had left one of her identical gloves in the couch, rose tinted cotton with a lace rose on the wrist, that smelled faintly of their perfume — how careless of all four of them to lose their gloves and provide no way for us to return them. But as time passed and we realized we would never hear from the Malarky sisters again we realized it was a deliberate act, leaving their gloves to preserve their memory, to assure us that indeed they had visited, though we no longer understood how or believed that they actually were related, or who they really were, or where they had come from — or why they had selected our home to make their existence known.

The Divorce of the Unmarried

He got up in the morning and couldn't tell if she was still living in the apartment with him or not. He thought he would have known if she were lying next to him on the double bed, but he was a sound sleeper and there was no sign of her. Being as neat as she was, what sign would she leave? A stocking draped over the footboard, a pair of jeans lying on a chair, vials of makeup left out on the bathroom counter? Not her.

The bed was made when he returned at the end of his shift. But it was possible that he had made it and didn't remember, for his memory wasn't reliable. Even though he was not a neat housekeeper, military service had gotten him into certain habits.

He checked the refrigerator. The carton of milk and box of cornflakes that stood out in the blue-white emptiness could have been there for a week or from the day before. The milk was not spoiled however, and he couldn't remember having bought it. There was no beer or wine on the door racks and he took that as a vague indication of her absence. He sat down at the kitchen table to think for a moment.

The coffee table in the living room would be a sure sign for she dusted every day. He ran his index finger across the sheet of glass that was the table top. His finger came up clean. She is still here, he thought, proud of his detective work. The small apartment continued to have the immaculate look of a display, and the fact that it had been secretly dusted was a definite indication of her presence. Maybe she was working overtime and their shifts were out of phase, and maybe too she had changed office locations so that she was only a few blocks away and came scooting upstairs after a hamburger or slice of pizza to tidy up.

The conclusion relieved him, for they hadn't had sex in over a week — the last time he saw her — but now he could set off to work with the hope that she might be home when he returned, wanting him too.

They were supposed to have been married the year before but their families became entangled in the wedding plans and he had called off the whole thing before a family feud resulted. After several months of procrastination, sliding into the decision not to elope, they decided to sacrifice his huge apartment, whose space was not necessary for them anyhow, and live together in her small dwelling. On weekends they separately visited their families, who gradually came to accept the status quo of their living together.
They used to see a lot of each other. When his shift changed she tried to be home with him so they could eat a fancy breakfast somewhere and take a sunset walk along the river. Sometimes on weekends she fixed dinner at home and they'd watch a movie on television, one they had seen a year or two before in a theater and could recall like a dim, almost forgotten memory of a personal experience.

But now she was no longer there when he came home or when he rose from bed, and she was no longer leaving notes on the refrigerator door signed XXXX saying she was not within or hiding in the closet and finally telling him where she was. And he was also sure she was not hanging around Ivan's or at the Sabre Tooth or any of the other bars they used to frequent. It seemed impossible that she could be having an affair with someone else for she never had a great sexual appetite. Even though the frequency of their encounters had decreased, their harmony hadn't deteriorated.

He felt certain that he would find her home the following morning when he returned, and she would be ready for him, either wide awake, or waiting for him in her sleep, a note beside the bed saying, "Wake me gently, XXXX."

Maybe this coming weekend they could do something together like go for a drive in the country in his new sportscar. He couldn't remember being with her the previous weekend — or what either of them had done.

When his shift changed again things would be better. He had a good job but no control over his hours, and if his hours determined what kind of relationship he was to have with his woman, well, they'd both have to adjust. But he'd have the dayshift again soon, maybe for two weeks, a month even, and their life would be as it had been before his employers decided to go into round-the-clock operation and put all employees, regardless of rank or seniority, on shifts. It was only fair.

They had accepted his new hours stoically, quoting, "Absence makes the heart grow fonder. " But the saying wasn't being fulfilled because when he tried to remember what she looked like he couldn't. At work he would recite to himself the facts of her height, weight, build that she took good care of, color hair, eyes, etc., but he was unable to remember her face. He'd have to take out the photos in his billfold and say to himself, "Oh of course," and shut his eyes. Then he could remember exactly what her face looked like.

On this particular day he tricked himself and got out her picture before he started for work so he could visualize her easily and long for her without having to go to his billfold. All through his shift that night he could see her clearly and picture the two of them in bed, for he was sure she would be there when he returned.

The hours passed quickly and when he returned he undid the several locks on the door and burst into the apartment shouting, "Hi, I'm home, are you there?" and didn't get a response. He thought she was being coy, waiting to surprise him in the bedroom. But she was not there.

Oh well, he thought, maybe she'll surprise me after a while, in a new dress or new lingerie. As he walked past the refrigerator he saw a note from her and was relieved. But then he read the note, which said, "We are divorced. XXXX."

He thought about it for a moment and didn't understand the message. He opened the refrigerator door and the carton of milk and the box of cornflakes were still there. He was sure she must still be living in the apartment for she left the note. He checked the coffee table and there wasn't a speck of dust on the glass. It looked too, as if the kitchen chair he had used briefly in the morning had been rearranged into perfect alignment with the table. He decided to sit down on the sofa and wait, without batting an eye, until she returned.
Henry T. King, Jr.

Nuremberg Revisited

A former prosecutor at the historic War Crimes trials warns that the lessons of Nuremberg should not be forgotten.

I first saw Nuremberg at 4:30 a.m. in a blinding rain storm. It was early March, 1946. I had arrived by train at a shattered railroad station, and I remember the eerie feeling as I walked to the Grand Hotel, which, although damaged, was to be my residence for the next eight months, while I served as a prosecution counsel at the Nuremberg trials. Nuremberg was a city of rubble, torn to shreds by a British air raid in February, 1945. Resistance here had been strong; gauleiter Holtz, supported by two SS divisions, had stubbornly held out in the old city. One wondered how anyone could have survived in a city so devastated.

When I first saw Nuremberg, all that it seemed to have left were its memories: memories of a medieval city which had been the crossroads of trade routes almost a thousand years before; of “die Meistersinger” and a real “Tannhauser” who had lived here in the thirteenth century; of Albrecht Dürer, one of the great artists of medieval times, Veit Stoss, the extraordinary wood carver, and Hans Sachs, the shoemaker poet — all of whom had walked its streets so many centuries before. But more recently, Nuremberg had listened to the strident voice of Adolf Hitler and to the marching pulse of the Nazi militia. It had become fatally attached to the fury and excitement of the Nazi Party rallies. Cries of “Sieg Heil” had pierced the quiet of its streets. And then it had all stopped and Nuremberg became a silent city. Just a few people moved in the rubble seeking food and shelter. The cold was bitter and penetrating, the streets largely deserted, and it seemed as though civilization as it had existed in Nuremberg had vanished.

I had a deep sense of mission as I walked through the debris to join the prosecution staff on the case of The United States of America, the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics vs. Hermann Wilhelm Goering, et al. I did not want the destruction and death I saw around me to happen again. At the time, I was only 26 years old, and for me, it was to be an important human experience as well as a legal one. The trial at Nuremberg was unique in human history. In terms of scope and impact it was a legal drama without historical parallel.

A word of background about the Nuremberg trials is in order here. During the first year of the trials, lawyers from four victorious allied countries — France, England, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. — prosecuted high Nazi officials. In the following three years, Americans stayed on to try 177 industrialists, judges, doctors, police, and commandos for war crimes. I participated in both the first proceeding and the subsequent proceedings. The international trial was conducted according to procedures established in the London Charter of August 8, 1945, agreed upon by the four allied countries. The American trials were carried out under Control Council Law 10 of December 20, 1945, promulgated by the Military Government for the American Zone of Germany. Control Council Law 10 was adapted from the London Charter just mentioned.

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Nuremberg, 1945, in ruins after Allied bombing.

Photo: D'Addario
The first trial took place before an International Military Tribunal composed of one judge and one alternate from each of the four allied countries. This was an ad hoc tribunal established by executive agreement (the London Charter) between the four allies for the limited purpose of trying major officials and organizations of the Nazi regime. This trial lasted from November 20, 1945, to August 31, 1946, and was in scope one of the largest trials in history. There were 403 open sessions. The tribunal heard 103 oral witnesses, and another 143 witnesses gave written answers; over 200,000 affidavits were presented. Most of the evidence presented by the prosecution was in documentary form from the Nazis' own files. The trial transcript and document books ran into tens of thousands of pages.

Size was not the only unusual aspect of the trial. It was extraordinary that jurists of four countries, each with a different legal system, should be able to agree upon the principles and procedures to be followed. The laws of two of the countries — the U.S. and Great Britain — are based on English common law, and so had no fundamental differences. But France and the USSR represented Roman or Civil Law traditions, and they differed widely from each other for obvious historical reasons. As a result, vast differences had to be resolved when the Charter for the International Military Tribunal was drafted in London.

After much negotiation, procedures were adopted in London that most closely resembled those of Anglo-American law. Justice Robert H. Jackson, the American representative in the Charter negotiations and subsequently the Chief Prosecutor at the first trial, was a man of tireless energy and great skill who brought the four nations together in a single approach — certainly an extraordinary feat.

The magnitude of Justice Jackson's task and achievement can be conveyed by a few examples. In both the U.K. and the U.S., there is a presumption of innocence when a person is put on trial for a crime. The burden of proof is on the prosecution to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. The Soviets' approach is quite different. Justice Jackson summarized their view of the Nazis as follows: "The fact that the Nazi leaders are criminals has already been established. The task of the tribunal is only to determine the measure of guilt of the particular person and to mete out as the necessary punishment — the sentences." In other words, in the Soviet system, there is a presumption of guilt.

In French and Soviet law, the notion that the defendants might take the stand and testify under cross-examination is unknown. But this is an inherent part of the Anglo-American system. On the other hand, under the French and other Continental systems the defendant is entitled at the conclusion of all proceedings and before judgment to make an unsworn statement which does not subject him to cross-examination. The concept of conspiracy — joining with others to plan a crime, as distinct from committing a crime, is a key part of our own jurisprudence. But the French do not like to prosecute for conspiracy because it violates a fundamental principle of French law, that a crime be precisely defined. The substantive crime, they insist, absorbs the conspiracy, which becomes moot once the crime is committed. This French view was given weight in the London Charter.

At Nuremberg, the prosecutors argued that individuals were responsible for crimes against peace (aggressive war, for example, the invasion of Poland); that individuals were responsible for crimes in violation of the laws of war (war crimes, for example, murder and ill treatment of prisoners of war and of civilian populations of occupied territories); and crimes against humanity (genocide, for example, the killing of Jews). We felt that by reaching individuals and holding them to account for crimes committed under the aegis of a government, we would enter into a new era of civilized behavior. We hoped that the example of Nuremberg would act as a deterrent to others who might commit such crimes, and would be a point of departure in the building of a better world. We lawyers anticipated that the Nuremberg precedent would lead to the establishment of a permanent international court which would mete out justice on a continuing basis to defendants who were charged with crimes against mankind.

In the dock at Nuremberg were the principal surviving leaders of Nazi Germany. They included Reichsmarshall Hermann Goering, the most prominent man in the Nazi regime after Hitler, and head of the Luftwaffe; Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the Gestapo Chief; Ru
The massive Zeppelin Stadium in Nuremberg, begun under Hitler, remains unfinished today.

dolf Hess, Deputy to Adolf Hitler; Alfred Jodl, the General who surrendered the German armies at Rheims; and Julius Streicher, the infamous anti-Semite. For the most part, each was the top survivor in his sphere of operations during the Nazi regime, selected as an important segment of the Nazi conspiracy.

In addition to the individuals tried at Nuremberg, there were also certain organizational defendants. These included such diverse groups as the German General Staff and High Command, the SS (Schutz Staffel), headed by Heinrich Himmler, the primary strong-arm instrumentality of the Nazi Party), the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei—the Secret State Police, principal political police of the Nazis), the Reich Cabinet, and the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party. The prosecution asked that they be declared criminal so that a basis would be established for proceedings against individuals who were members of such organizations. Several of these groups were found not to be criminal organizations within the meaning of the Charter which established the Nuremberg tribunal, but findings of criminality were obtained in other cases, which facilitated the trials of individual members.

I worked on the prosecution of the German General Staff and High Command, and in the subsequent proceedings I shared responsibility for the prosecution of former Field Marshal Erhard Milch, deputy to Hermann Goering as head of the Luftwaffe. Milch was tried for his participation in the Nazi slave labor program and in the human experiments program.

The evidence against Milch, obtained primarily from the Nazi government's own files, showed that he had been a major figure in a slaving operation without historical parallel. It was so large it covered most of the European continent outside of Germany. And the evidence showed that a number of those who were taken to Germany in slavery did not return. These slaves who worked in the German armaments factories had no rights. There were no courts where they could go for recourse. They had no protection against mistreatment. All that mattered was that they produce efficiently, and there was no mercy if they did not.

The case against Field Marshal Milch resulted in a life sentence. He appealed the sentence to the U.S. Supreme Court, but without success. He was subsequently released, to the dismay of those who prosecuted him, and has since died.

In all, I spent almost two years in Nuremberg. I was there when the Tribunal rendered its verdict against many of the Nazi leaders; when former Reichsmarshall Hermann Goering cheated the gallows by poisoning himself, and when nine others were hanged for their crimes.

Nuremberg cast an important shadow over my life. I have never ceased to ponder the
true significance of the trials and their relationship to the present world where people still hate and nations still engage in destructive wars against one another. Last year, thirty-five years later, I returned there to try to come to terms with the experience.

Much has happened since the Nuremberg trials. The city, which was almost totally gutted by bombs in World War II, has been completely rebuilt. It is clear that Nuremberg wants to forget, but uncomfortable memories of her recent past may well remain with some. It was in Nuremberg that Adolf Hitler addressed his Nazi legions at the great Party rallies; here too originated the infamous Nuremberg laws which stripped Jews of their rights. These events were, of course, a significant consideration in the choice of Nuremberg as the site of the trials.

There is not even a postcard mention in Nuremberg either of the trials or of the Nazi Party rallies which once dominated the city. The court house is there, large and silent, and the great prison where the Nazi leaders were incarcerated stands in the rear, but there is nothing there today to remind one of Chief Prosecutor Robert Jackson's eloquence on that historic day in late November, 1945, when that first trial of its kind in history began. The massive Zeppelin Stadium, where Hitler held forth, preceded by the marching drums of his Nazi followers and followed by Albert Speer's Cathedral of Ice, unique in the history of searchlight spectacles, is now overgrown. Information about the stadium is hard to come by. The Congress Hall, which was to be the party headquarters, remains unfinished. This is a huge horseshoe-shaped edifice which was to have been enclosed by a glass roof. But the roof was never completed and the walls have begun to disintegrate. As these ruins stand now, they are hardly a reminder of one of the twentieth century's most powerful regimes, which came so very close to conquering all of Europe. The Grand Hotel, where the Nazi leaders stayed and played, and the Nuremberg prosecutors resided after them, is still standing and is currently undergoing renovation. New faces run the hotel now and there are few, if any, of the hotel staff still there who will bear witness to the Nazi experience and the trial that followed the war.
One of the people I visited who did remember the events of thirty-five years ago was my opposing counsel in the Milch trial, Dr. Frederick Bergold of Nuremberg. Dr. Bergold ably defended Field Marshal Milch as he had defended his client in the first proceeding before the International Military Tribunal, Nazi Party chief Martin Bormann. Dr. Bergold never knew or saw Bormann and told me that his client was dead at the time of the trial. He was a fearless attorney who not only effectively represented his Nazi clients, but also, during the Hitler regime, defended Jehovah’s Witnesses on trial for religious dissent. That he was successful in their defense attests to his legal capacity. Dr. Bergold is now 82 years old, and the memories of Nuremberg are for him growing dimmer. But his eyes sparkled when I refreshed his recollection about our exchanges during the trial. For me, his complete professionalism will remain a cherished memory.

But if most of Nuremberg wants to forget, can the world afford to forget what transpired at Nuremberg? If there was any doubt in my mind as to the answer to this question, that doubt was removed when I visited the site of the Dachau Concentration Camp just outside Munich. Dachau has a particular significance for me. It was the first concentration camp in Nazi Germany. One of the charges we brought against Erhard Milch was that he authorized experiments on human beings conducted at Dachau for the German Air Force, in which he was a Field Marshal. In these experiments prisoners were introduced into low-pressure chambers simulating high altitudes. Other experiments were conducted to determine how long human beings could survive in freezing water and which stimuli would bring back to life experimental subjects who had been subjected to great exposure. Russian prisoners of war were, for example, exposed to ice water in open tubs at Dachau in March, and then subjected to various rewarming procedures, including drugs, women, etc. Many died or were maimed in the experiments. Nazi officials frequently went to Dachau to watch the experiments, a circumstance which reflected overt sadism. The records of what went on at Dachau have been saved and still may be seen. The museum there consists of massive documentation in photographs, models, artifacts and text, in half a dozen languages, of the history of the camp, from its inception to its capture by Allied troops in 1945. The evidence, largely from the Nazis’ own files, shows that although Dachau was not intended as a mass extermination camp like Auschwitz, hunger and illness and mass executions along with the human experiments resulted in a continual “extermination” of prisoners. Well over 30,000 people died there. There were over 100 such camps scattered throughout Germany and many were worse than Dachau. The number of victims ran into the millions.

The Nuremberg trials mobilized the collective conscience of mankind to the monumental misdeeds of those who ran camps such as Dachau and who murdered those they hated for racial, religious, or political reasons. The world cannot afford a repetition of the Nazi regime, and Nuremberg is a reminder of what anyone may expect who repeats such crimes. Without the proceedings at Nuremberg and related local trials, victims of Dachau, Auschwitz, and other camps would have been denied an honorable inquest. These trials preserve the memory of those people and why they died.
After leaving Dachau, I visited the Bavarian Alps, specifically the Kelstein Mountains and the mountain ridge known as the Obersalzberg, where Hitler and other Nazi leaders had elaborate residences, and where many of the plans were laid for Germany’s aggressive warfare in World War II. I also visited Munich, scene of many of Hitler’s early triumphs, now seemingly forgotten by the city. One of these successes was the Munich Pact of 1938, in which allied leaders, including French chief of state Edouard Daladier and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, made concessions undermining Czechoslovakia which led to the Nazi invasion of Poland. Albert Speer, Hitler’s closest personal associate, told me that if Hitler had been stopped at the time of Munich, he might have been less aggressive in his later moves.

I spent two days in discussions with Speer in July, 1981, in Heidelberg. Speer was appointed Minister of Armaments for Nazi Germany in 1942 after the death of Fritz Todt in a plane crash. From February 8 of that year until the end of the war, Speer was Chairman of the Central Planning Board, which ran Germany’s war effort. Although he had had little previous experience in this kind of work, he performed so successfully that many feel his efforts materially prolonged the war. He has been called one of the great war production ministers of all time. He was an early favorite of Hitler and was his architect, a very special role because Hitler himself had wanted to be an architect. He saw Speer as the means for turning his architectural dreams into reality. It is ironic that many of the structures that Speer designed for Hitler were never built.

As the last living member of the top Nazi hierarchy (other than Rudolf Hess, who is confined to Spandau Prison in Berlin), Speer was, until his death in late August, 1981, much in demand because he was a close witness to the workings of Hitler’s mind and his relationship with his top subordinates. When I saw him in July, he had just finished reviewing the script for the televised version of his book — *Inside the Third Reich* — which was shown on ABC-TV this year. Speer had recently appeared on the “Good Morning America” show and also had just finished a six-hour interview with H.R. Trevor-Roper for the BBC archives. He was very active for a man of 76.

I had extensive contact with Speer during the trials, particularly in the development of the case against Erhard Milch, a member of the Central Planning Board of which Speer was chairman. After Speer’s release from prison, I talked with him a number of times. His observations on the trials from the standpoint of a defendant are particularly worthy of note.

Speer spent twenty years in confinement as a result of his sentence at Nuremberg in addition to a year in jail before the verdict was rendered. In July, 1981, he told me he believed that the Nuremberg trial was fair, and for this he gave large credit to Lord Geoffrey Lawrence of Great Britain, the Chief Judge. By way of example he cited the manner in which Judge Lawrence held the Russian prosecutor in check so that he did not overstep the bounds of what the court felt was proper in the examination of the defendants on the stand at the trial. One weakness at Nuremberg which handicapped both prosecutors and defense was that not all the relevant documents were available for the trial because it was held so soon after the war. But Speer believed that this was equally limiting to both prosecution and defense, and he did not think any injustice resulted.

Speer thought that at the outset of the trial, when the defendants were asked to plead guilty or not guilty to the massive and complex charges against them, they should have been permitted to explain their pleas. “Guilty” or “not guilty” was too simplistic, and for him there were nuances which he felt should have been allowed amplification at the outset of the trial. However, Speer himself in the course of the trial both in the witness stand and in his closing statement took full advantage of the opportunity given him to explain his position on the charges leveled against him. I believe there was little doubt in the court’s mind as to where he stood on the issues involved in his case.

In our conversations he also questioned the charge against the defendants that they conspired to commit aggressive war. He had reservations about defendants’ being charged with conspiracy regardless of whether they had any contacts at all with the other defendants so charged. But Speer himself and three others were acquitted of the conspiracy charge; and he was no doubt aware that ex-
cept for Rudolf Hess, no one was sentenced at Nuremberg on the conspiracy charge alone, and that with the exception of Hess all those found guilty on this charge were also sentenced on other charges (i.e., war crimes) which in themselves in all probability would have justified their sentences, so that no injustice was in fact done by including this charge.

Speer was sentenced for his role in the enslavement of millions of foreign workers. As head of the armaments program, he requisitioned labor knowing that his requirements would be achieved by force. He was responsible for the allocation of these workers to German armaments factories, and had some control over how these prisoner-workers were treated. He felt that the sentence he received at Nuremberg was justified. Slavery, he acknowledged, has been outlawed in all countries of the world. The Nazi enslavement of foreign workers in which he played such a key role violated the common conscience of mankind, and it also violated the laws of war. Many have questioned the Nuremberg proceedings on ex post facto grounds — namely, that the charter under which the tribunal functioned provided for punishment of crime without preexisting law. Speer dismissed this defense, saying that it had no application to undeniable crimes of such magnitude. The Nuremberg Court held that the principles under which it operated did not constitute a limitation of sovereignty but embodied a universal principle of justice. Justice would not be served, for example, by letting defendants go unpunished for aggressive attacks without warning against neighboring states in violation of treaties or assurances. My own belief at the time was that the defendants knew that the acts they were charged with were wrongful and that they had no reason to be surprised when they were called to account.

Nor did Speer think that the "superior order" defense had much application to the high-level Nazi defendants at Nuremberg. But he would let common soldiers raise such a defense. For example, in his view, in Vietnam the only soldier who should not have been permitted to raise this defense would have been General Westmoreland, because he was the military leader there. There are many, including myself, who would take issue with this position. The Nuremberg Tribunal found

that for soldiers accused of war crimes, an order from a superior was not a defense but could be considered in mitigation of punishment and that the true test was whether in fact a moral choice was possible.

In Speer's discussions with me he supported the concept of holding individuals responsible under international law for what was done in the name of the German State. He believed that it was important to hold the Nazi leaders, but not the German people, responsible for what happened during the Nazi regime.

Speer thought, as I do, that Nuremberg served a purpose and should not be forgotten. In his mind, the trials helped to recivilize the world after World War II and was directed at the re-establishment of international law based on peace and justice in a world shattered by war. While the structure for the enforcement of peace contemplated by Nuremberg has not been realized, Speer believed that the trial should remain in the minds of later generations as a memory of justice and as a reminder of action taken where the collective conscience of mankind was violated and so serve a useful purpose.
Speer had just published a new book about the SS and the Armaments Program called *Infiltration*, which describes his own relationship with Heinrich Himmler. The book indicates that in the Nazi hierarchy the worst persecutors of Jews were Hitler, Bormann and Goebbels. Speer pointed out to me that it was Hitler himself who was responsible for the Final Solution, the program to eliminate all Jews from areas he controlled. I gather that only Hitler could have given the order to carry out a program of such magnitude. The book also contains a description of the underground aircraft factory program which was developed during the closing months of the war. One of the bases for the conviction of Erhard Milch was his participation in this program, which involved the use of slave labor — a phase of the case that I developed and presented at Nuremberg.

Speer felt encouraged by the continued interest of present-day Germans in the Nuremberg proceedings, because it is important for the German people to know that the Nuremberg proceedings were fair. Recent German publications dealing with the Nuremberg trial reflect this view. In Speer’s opinion, the trial was helpful in directing the responsibility for the crimes of Nazism away from the German people and onto their leaders, where the responsibility rightfully belonged. Under international law, he felt, these leaders should have been held accountable for their crimes. His position differed from other Nuremberg defendants, who argued that individuals could not be held responsible for crimes on such a scale.

Justice was done at Nuremberg within great time constraints and under unusual conditions. We all can be proud of what was accomplished. Albert Speer’s acknowledgment that the proceedings were just and that his sentence was fair is eloquent testimony to the restraint and objectivity which the Allies used at Nuremberg. To get a perspective on the Nuremberg trial, one need only compare it with the brutal treatment meted out to the defendants at the Nazi People’s Court in Berlin presided over by Judge Roland Freisler, which tried those charged with the assassination attempt on Hitler’s life in July, 1944. Judge Freisler rendered “justice” with a vengeance and those in the dock in his courtroom were given short shift before they were sentenced to slow and painful death.

The Nuremberg trial serves as a precedent for some basic principles including the following:

- That the initiating and waging of aggressive war is a crime as is a conspiracy to wage aggressive war.
- That the violation of the laws or customs of war is a crime.
- That inhumane acts upon civilians in execution of or in connection with aggressive war constitute a crime.
- That individuals may be held liable for crimes committed by them as heads of state.
- That individuals may be held liable for crimes committed by them pursuant to superior orders.
- That an individual charged with crime under international law is entitled to a fair trial.

These are good principles and few would quarrel with them in the abstract. To a considerable extent, they were affirmed in a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of December 10, 1946. Since that time U.N. Committees have made attempts at refining and codifying them. Though some progress has been made, no comprehensive enforceable code of international behavior has yet emerged. But this should not reflect upon their essential legitimacy and validity.

Crimes of the sort tried at Nuremberg are still being committed. The world cannot afford to forget the justice done there, or the principle established there, that individuals have a moral responsibility for murder and cruelty, which they cannot escape by blaming superior orders or the state. If there are those who say that Nuremberg was an imperfect proceeding, my response is that we live in an imperfect world and that we had to start somewhere on the road to justice and the re-civilization of international relationships after the most brutal and extensive war in human history. The principles of Nuremberg were valid then and they remain so today.
Peter C. Baker

Birth Defects: a Realistic Assessment

Only one-third of the physical and mental defects in newborn infants have known causes, and an even smaller fraction can be prevented.

If the growing number of stories in the popular press is any indication, public awareness of birth defect as a significant medical problem seems to be increasing. Although such an increase in interest should not be interpreted as an increase in the problem, neither is it a sign that the problem is going to be quickly solved. Popular accounts of particular defects usually fail to report their information in the context of our overall knowledge, and thus ignore the unpleasant fact that we can now foresee little hope of eliminating birth defects. To understand the reasons for this pessimistic assessment, one must be aware of the magnitude of the problem, the history of our understanding of it, and the difficulties faced by those seeking solutions.

Frequency. It has been estimated that one half of one percent of births result in a child with a fatal defect. An equal number are born with a non-fatal but major defect, and about one percent are born with minor defects. If follow-up studies are conducted, the numbers increase, since some defects do not manifest themselves until well after birth, and many conservative estimates would place the final frequency at around five percent. This five percent is lower than the total frequency of reproductive defects, since about one of every five conceptions miscarries, and about one-fourth of the miscarried fetuses have major defects. Thus the reproductive mechanism itself selects out a large part of the problem. Still, by anybody’s measure, birth defects are an immediate problem for a substantial number of people.

Brief history. No scientific understanding of birth defect was possible until Gregor Mendel’s research on inheritance was rediscovered around 1900, giving rise to a modern science of genetics. Early enthusiasts of the new genetics tended, regrettably, to place too exclusive an emphasis on the probable importance of hereditary factors in birth defect. The importance of environmental factors emerged in 1929 when L. Goldstein and D.P. Murphey were able to demonstrate that X-rays could cause defect. Infectious disease became a factor in 1941 when N. McA. Gregg, an Australian physician, established a connection between the rubella (German measles) virus and eye, ear, and heart defects. The most traumatic discovery in our growing understanding of birth defects was the finding by W. Lenz and G.W. McBride in 1961 of a connection between the drug thalidomide and children born with reduced or missing limbs. A year later Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring launched the environmental movement. These last two events, only a couple of decades ago, made it dramatically clear to the public that human action could exacerbate, and indeed had exacerbated, one of the more tragic aspects of human existence.

Causes. The causes of birth defects fall into three major categories. The largest group, containing two-thirds or more of the instances, can be labeled “causes unknown.” The second group, about one-fourth of the total, are the result of genetic or chromosomal errors. This category is the subject of intensive research and some of the defects caused by genetic errors, such as hemophilia and sickle-cell anemia, as well as the chromosomal error Down’s syndrome, are fairly well known to the public. A final category can be labeled “environmental” and it has been esti-
mated that something less than one-tenth of birth defects fit this classification. This is the area of greatest popular concern, the one where remedial action could have the greatest impact. It should be considered in more detail.

The major environmental causes of birth defects are radiation, infectious disease, maternal metabolic problems, and foreign chemical agents. Less than one percent of birth defects are estimated to be caused by radiation. Care in the use of diagnostic X-rays is a recommended precaution; but radiation can never be entirely eliminated, since it is a natural part of the environment. Estimates place infectious disease as the cause of about two or three percent of the defects. Since viral disease is the most important cause, the present large research effort to control viral infection will, when it succeeds, have the added effect of reducing birth defects. As many as one or two percent of birth defects are the result of maternal metabolic problems such as diabetes. These cases are environmental, of course, because the womb is the immediate environment of the fetus. Drugs and chemicals are estimated to cause about three percent of all birth defects. This is probably the category most within our power to control, and the potential hazards of these substances to the unborn have received extensive public exposure in recent years.

Problems of investigation. The scientific study of birth defects is difficult, and often frustrating. Statistical analysis can run afoul of poor record-keeping. Genetic studies of human beings are more difficult than those involving animals because the necessary selective breeding experiments for such research cannot be performed on human beings. The testing of drugs and chemicals is expensive, and differences between laboratory animals and human beings create difficulties of interpretation. Embryological study of the reproductive process has always been slow work and, more often than not, only increases the number of questions without providing any answers. Here are some examples of the frustrations in this field of research:

- Between 1945 and 1959 brain and spinal cord defects in New York State dropped 50 percent, and no good reason can be found.
- There is a defect called anencephaly in which most of the brain is missing. In a world-wide survey of this well reported defect the frequency was found to vary with legitimacy, sex, religion, wealth, maternal age, ethnic group, race, and geographic location. Sorting these data out to find a cause is impossible. Some associations were irritatingly paradoxical: although the frequency of this defect was highest world-wide among Roman Catholics, it was lowest in the city of Bogota, Colombia, a predominantly Roman Catholic community.
- Almost sixty years ago a German investigator discovered that during early embryonic development one rather small, rod-like structure exerts chemical influences on the organization of most of the rest of the embryo including the whole nervous system. To this day massive experimental analysis has failed to define the mechanism or mechanisms involved in this fundamental event.
- Drugs and chemicals cause defects in some animal species but not in others; thus thalidomide caused limb defects in humans but not in rats and mice.

Success has come seldom in this kind of investigation, and the future looks only a little brighter.

We have learned a great deal from embryological research; but we have done it using sea urchins, frogs, and chickens, because they are inexpensive and easy to work with. The cheap and simple work has been done, and the research problems now before us are expensive and difficult. The animals of choice for study — mammals — are hard to obtain as embryos and very difficult to work with experimentally. In normal embryonic development one cell embarks upon a process of self-controlled assembly that will eventually result in billions of cells all hung together in a harmonious fashion. The directions for this series of interdependent events are contained in the hereditary apparatus of the starting cell; almost all of the instructions and processes involved are still hidden from the best efforts our experimental and investigative skills can mount. Anything as complex as this mechanism has built into its very nature an almost infinite number of times and places where things could go wrong. The fact
that the embryo is properly formed as often as it is is a tribute to the genetic mechanism that controls it.

**Successes.** There have been successes in the study of birth defects; but most of them have occurred in situations that invited success. Children born with missing or shortened limbs are normally very rare in the population and their sudden increased frequency in the late 1950's was a signal that eventually led to the identification of thalidomide as the cause. Similarly, increasing frequencies of eye, ear and heart malformations led to the discovery of the effects of the rubella virus. Had either of these agents caused cleft lip or mental retardation, much more common defects, their potential danger might have gone unnoticed. Down's syndrome is a chromosomal error in which one extra chromosome in the fertilized egg results in mental retardation and changes in stature and facial appearance. Studies of birth records indicated that mothers in their late thirties are eight and a half times more likely to have a child with Down's syndrome than mothers under twenty, and for mothers over forty the likelihood increases to more than thirty times that of teen-age mothers. Now armed with this information, prospective mothers over thirty can make more informed decisions about whether to have children.

One of the more spectacular successes in the history of birth defects is the elimination of cretinism, a defect which involves bone deformity, facial changes, intestinal malformation, and extreme mental retardation. It was due, in most cases, to a lack of iodine in the maternal diet, the same lack that afflicted the adult population with conditions called goiter and myxedema. All of these problems were common in the world's mountainous areas and the Great Lakes region of the United States because the local soils lacked iodine. The addition of iodine to table salt earlier in this century has all but eliminated these conditions, including cretinism.

The fetus was once thought to be protected from environmental insult, but we now know it is not — indeed in all too many cases it is more sensitive to external influences than are adults. As a result of our knowing this, concern has grown about the hazards to the unborn and the ways our behavior can reduce them. Such a heightened awareness is rapidly becoming part of the public's general knowledge about health.

**The problem of alcohol, a recent example.** In the last few years another very important birth defect has come to our attention. It is caused by maternal alcohol consumption during pregnancy and is called fetal alcohol syndrome, or FAS for short. FAS presents a combination of defects involving facial appearance, brain development, behavior, and intelligence. In FAS the outline of the upper lip is thin, the middle indentation between the lip and the nose is indistinct or missing, the nose tends to be small with a diminished bridge, the eye slits are small, and the circumference of the head is smaller than average. Brain size is reduced and its cellular organization is abnormal. Infants with FAS tend to be irritable, weaker sucking, and lethargic. As children they are hyperactive and do not grow well. They are described as being mildly to moderately mentally retarded, and although I.Q. scores range widely from normal to well below normal, the average is about 68. Statistical analysis indicates that the more a pregnant mother drinks the greater the chance her child will have FAS and the more severe the condition could be. To date there is no known safe lower limit of alcohol consumption during pregnancy. The frequency of FAS seems to be about one or two births per thousand; if milder cases are considered, some investigators would raise the estimate to three to five per thousand. FAS probably represents the single largest group of mentally retarded individuals in the population with a known cause, and the group that is most susceptible to reduction by remedial action.

One can well ask how this effect of alcohol escaped our attention for so long, since alcohol is the oldest drug in continuous use and the one with the longest history of abuse. There are two reasons. First, the FAS child does not appear extremely abnormal. The facial indications are subtle, and one can really only put them all together when one knows what to look for. Second, the irregularities of growth and behavior were ascribed to neglect and the often substandard conditions found in the homes of alcoholics, and not to any direct effects of alcohol itself. The first description of FAS appeared in an unpublished medical thesis in Paris in 1957; a later
French study appeared in a minor journal in 1968, and general awareness in the scientific world followed an American study published in 1973. Since then more data have been collected on humans, animal studies have been undertaken, and good reviews of our present knowledge of FAS have been published in major technical journals with wide distribution in the clinical and scientific community.

Despite our present knowledge of alcohol's danger to the fetus, this information has not yet received enough general circulation. If the estimates of the FAS rate are correct, more FAS children are born in the United States each year than were afflicted by the thalidomide disaster during its three-year course all over the world. One must be distressed by the continued lack of a vigorous program to inform prospective parents concerning a problem we have known about for almost a decade.11

The future. There seems to be little hope in the years ahead of any major breakthrough in reducing birth defect. The growing use of genetic counselors may have some impact upon heritable defects. Programs to educate the public so that the unborn are less frequently exposed to environmental dangers could also help. Prenatal diagnosis and elective abortion would reduce the frequency of some defects. On the other hand, increased adolescent drinking coupled with increased adolescent pregnancy will lead to more instances of FAS, and the fashion of delayed child-bearing will produce an increase in Down's syndrome and other defects related to maternal age.

This prognosis may seem bleak, but the fact is that the positive actions available to us are rather limited. And it appears that birth defects are not high on the nation's list of priorities; we need more research and greater public awareness, but — the times being what they are — neither of these seems likely in the near future. Since even the programs to reduce environmental hazards are being cut back, we can expect to spend years just trying to regain lost ground.

What this country has been doing with growing vigor for some time now is providing assistance to those born with defects. Such activity is not prevention, but it is fruitful and it continues to increase public awareness of the underlying problem, as more and more of the afflicted are assisted in moving out into the public. We can only hope that in a future of shrinking expectations and resources such support will be continued.

Some of us doubt it.

NOTES

1 "Birth defect" is not the term of choice for most people who study the subject. But it is the term most used in public print and the one made popular by the National Foundation (once known as the March of Dimes).


The figures in this section were derived by J.G. Wilson (see note 3).


Discussions of this phenomenon, primary induction, are to be found in any embryology text such as B.I. Balinsky's An Introduction to Embryology, 5th ed. (New York: Saunders College Publishing, 1981).

Problems associated with drugs and testing are well described by L. Saxén and J. Rapola and J.G. Wilson (see above).

Embryonic development is a broad and technical subject, but most modern general biology or general zoology books in the public library provide good introductions to the subject.

Discussions of Down's syndrome can be found in almost any human genetics textbook; more specific information and relationships to maternal age are given in L. Saxén and J. Rapola. Down's syndrome was once called "mongolian idiot," a particularly repugnant label. The saga of thalidomide is well reviewed in the popular account Suffer the Children: The Story of Thalidomide by the Insight Team of the Sunday Times of London (New York: Viking Press, 1979). Cretinism and maternal iodine in the diet was a popular public-health story some years ago, although in recent years it is little remembered. Older textbooks on human biology or human physiology usually cover the subject in the section about the thyroid gland.

Fetal alcohol syndrome, FAS, is well described by Sterling K. Clarren and David W. Smith in "The Fetal Alcohol Syndrome," The New England Journal of Medicine, 298 (1978), 1063-1067. Although many readers will think this periodical too technical, the article is clearly written and not difficult to understand. Ann P. Streissguth, Sharon Landesman-Dwyer, Joan C. Martin and David W. Smith have published a good review of FAS entitled "Teratogenic Effects of Alcohol in Humans and Laboratory Animals," which appeared in Science, 209 (1980), 353-61. The article has much that is technical, but in general the parts about humans are clear to the average reader. The great advantage to this article is that it is accessible, since most public libraries carry Science.
The Arabic language, one of the major languages of the world, is spoken by 100 million people, referred to as Arabs. A majority but not all of these are Moslems. Arabic is used, though not usually understood, by another 300 million Moslems who are not Arabs (Iranians, Turks, Pakistanis, Indonesians, etc.); to these people whose own languages are not related to Arabic, it serves the function that Latin long had in the Catholic world, the instrument of their religious observance. The Arabs, though spread in a long arc from Iraq to Morocco, are all of the same original ethnic stock, native to the Arabian peninsula. The name Arabian, however, refers to those who live or lived on the Arabian peninsula — what we usually call Saudi Arabia, plus Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, Yemen and a few other states.

Arabic is the language of one of the world's great civilizations, which has made lasting contributions in mathematics, astronomy, and many other fields, and which kept alive the flame of knowledge during the Dark Ages when illiterate monks in Europe were using the books of Plato to wrap peeled turnips.

Arabic is a member of the Semitic family of languages, which includes such living languages as Hebrew and Amharic and such extinct ones as Assyrian, Babylonian, Phoenician and Aramaic. It is more distantly related to Coptic, Ancient Egyptian and Hausa, the lingua franca of West Africa. Arabic itself is spoken in a variety of dialects, ranging from Syrian to Egyptian to North African.
African and including Maltese, a severely altered version of the original language. All the dialects of Arabic (except Maltese) are written in the Arabic alphabet, an aesthetically attractive series of curves that is often used for decoration in Arab arts and crafts (see illustration), especially in mosques, because Moslems avoid the representation of human beings. The alphabet has twenty-eight letters, all consonants, each of which has three written forms, depending on whether it appears at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word. It is written in consecutive lines going from right to left. The three vowels (a, i, u) are added as accents above or below the line and are regularly left off in all but the most formal texts, like the Quran (or Koran), which the Moslems believe cannot be translated and must not be sold. (In stores it is “given” and the recipient gives the storekeeper a gratuity.)

Several of the consonants in Arabic (kh, gh, ‘ayn, h, and the glottal stop) have no equivalent in English. These so-called gutturals are left out or distorted when English speakers pronounce the Middle Eastern names which occur so often in our news programs. Thus Prince Fahd of Sa’udi Arabia is not *fod* but *fahhd*, with a strongly aspirated h. Similarly, the apostrophe in Sa’udi is not merely decorative; it is the consonant ‘ayn, a sound produced by a constriction of the vocal passage, something like a choking sound.

The letters fall into two categories, described as “sun” and “moon” letters. Sun letters—generally, sounds made with the tongue, teeth, and lips near the front of the mouth: t, d, s, z, th, sh, r, and n (but not m)—have the property of assimilating the l of the article; thus AL + SHAMS (the sun) is pronounced *ASHSHAMS*. The moon letters (all the others) do not change when preceded by the article. The basic word form is the verb stem which is the third person singular past tense: for example, K-T-B (pronounced *KATABA*, he wrote). This so-called tri-literal stem produces sets of cognate words derived according to standard word-formation formulas. For example, if the middle consonant of a tri-literal verb is doubled, the basic sense of the action is intensified. Other forms produce reflexive, causative, reciprocal, passive, and other versions of...
the basic verb meaning. There are fourteen such forms, but not every verb has a full complement, and many of the derived forms have wandered far from their formulaic meaning.

Numerous proper names in Arabic-speaking countries reflect this process of word creation. The last name of the President of Egypt, Mubarak, derives from the tri-literal stem B-R-K (to kneel, to bless) in the passive and means "blessed." Major Haddad's name means "blacksmith" derived from HADEED, "iron." Numerous old-fashioned names consist of an adjective (JAMEEL, beautiful, KAREEM, noble, HABEEB, beloved), followed by a reference to the deity, formed as follows: ABDUL + (attribute). Thus GAMAL ABDUL NASSER (first President of modern Egypt) means Camel (in the Egyptian pronunciation — not an objectionable name in a desert country), slave of the Protector. The combination, 'ABD (slave) + AL (the) figures prominently in the nomenclature of many Arabs. The name ABDULLAH means "slave of God." Patronymics are also found: IBN means son; prefixed to a name, it means "son of," as in IBN-SA'UD (a king of Arabia), that is, "son of Sa'ud." (The same process occurs in names more familiar to English speakers, such as Johnson, Fitzwilliam, MacDuff, and O'Leary, which mean "son of John," "son of William," "son of Duff," etc.) ABU, "father," does not perform the same linguistic duty toward a son; rather it means something like "having to do with," or "obsessed by," as in ABU JIHAD (father of holy war), the sobriquet chosen by one of the Palestinian officials devoted to war against Israel.

Nouns have masculine and feminine gender and may be singular, dual, or plural. There is a definite article (AL) familiar to us from numerous English words borrowed from Arabic in which it is embedded, (e.g., alcohol). The Arabic vocabulary is large and each word has many meanings, as is to be expected of a language which has had as varied and colorful a history as this one. It is not true, however, as has been said, that every word in Arabic means both itself, its opposite and a kind of camel. In its travels and its conquests, Arabic has borrowed many words from other languages and it continues to do so. In this respect, it is very much like English. English, in fact, carries a heavy freight of terms borrowed from Arabic in astronomy, sailing, medicine, science, and other fields in which the Arabs have been masters. The following is a sampling of some of the most common words which have come to us from or through Arabic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>admiral</th>
<th>arsenal</th>
<th>carafe</th>
<th>endive</th>
<th>henna</th>
<th>moire</th>
<th>sugar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>albatross</td>
<td>arsenic</td>
<td>carat</td>
<td>exchequer</td>
<td>jar</td>
<td>mufti</td>
<td>syrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alchemy</td>
<td>assassin</td>
<td>caraway</td>
<td>garble</td>
<td>jerboa</td>
<td>nadir</td>
<td>t alc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol</td>
<td>azimuth</td>
<td>carmine</td>
<td>gazelle</td>
<td>julep</td>
<td>ottoman</td>
<td>talisman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcove</td>
<td>azure</td>
<td>checker</td>
<td>genie</td>
<td>lackey</td>
<td>racket</td>
<td>tambourine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algebra</td>
<td>balm</td>
<td>chess</td>
<td>ghou l</td>
<td>lilac</td>
<td>ream</td>
<td>tariff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alkali</td>
<td>balsam</td>
<td>cipher</td>
<td>giraffe</td>
<td>lute</td>
<td>saffron</td>
<td>tarragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amber</td>
<td>basil</td>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>gypsum</td>
<td>magazine</td>
<td>sash</td>
<td>tartar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniline</td>
<td>borax</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>harem</td>
<td>mask</td>
<td>sherbet</td>
<td>typhoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antimony</td>
<td>caliber</td>
<td>crimson</td>
<td>hashish</td>
<td>mattress</td>
<td>sofa</td>
<td>zenith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apricot</td>
<td>candy</td>
<td>elixir</td>
<td>hazard</td>
<td>mohair</td>
<td>spinach</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add to this list the names of most of the stars in the sky and you can realize how extensive has been the contribution of this culture to ours.

A glance at the origin of some of these words is a journey into history, the fabled time of the Crusades, when East met West with a brutal shock, after which neither was ever the same again.
The taking of Jerusalem in 1099 was the end of the Dark Ages, as Europe became suffused with the pearly light of Eastern knowledge, and the seeds of the Palestine question were first sown. A single word like *albatross* illustrates the mixture of cultures that the Mediterranean spawned. The Greek word *kados* (jar) was borrowed by the Arabs who pronounced it *ALQADUS* and lent it to the Portuguese by whom, in the form *alcatraz*, it was used to designate the bucket on a waterwheel. The Spanish borrowed it from their neighbors to designate the pelican, whose beak resembles a bucket, and changed the spelling slightly to the more familiar *alcatraz*. Eventually it was any large sea-bird, especially a white one, and so by assimilation with *albus* (white) it came to be the word for the large white sea-bird.

*Algebra* is taken from *AL-JABR*, a word meaning the union of broken parts, and therefore also bone-setting. *Zero* is from *SIFR* (empty) and came into English through French and Spanish. So is *cipher*, but its trajectory is more elaborate. It came into Europe with the Arabic numbers and continued to mean both *zero* and *nothing* for a long time. French *chiffre*, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese *cifra* and German *ziffer* all mean "number" as well as secret writing, because the earliest cryptograms replaced letters with numbers (compare *decipher*). *Cipher* and *zero* are an etymological doublet, descended from same word, now widely separated in meaning, except that *cipher* reveals its kinship with its twin in the phrase "a mere cipher." Naturally enough, when the Arabs needed a word to mean "secret code," they borrowed back their own word *cipher* but from French *chiffre*, thus *SHIFRAH*.

*Zenith*, the point in the sky directly above us, was used in Middle English, Old French and medieval Latin with the same meaning and only slightly different spelling. It comes from *SAMT* (way) and *AR-RAS* (of the head), i.e., path over the head. *Azimuth*, which is an arc extending from the horizon to the zenith, has the same origin: *AS-SUMUT*, the plural of *SAMT*. These are a few of the examples from which one can infer the extensive knowledge and observation that this people brought to its peregrinations on the sea.

Thus Arabic, like many languages but more so than most because of its spread, its influence, and the varied activities of its speakers, displays with dramatic clarity the history of its people. Words are the secret hoards of the history of a civilization and dictionaries are the keys with which we open them.

— *Louis T. Milic*

In future issues THE GAMUT will present similar brief surveys of important and interesting languages. Coming next: Eskimo, then Persian.
Thylias Moss

**Four Poems**

**ONE-LEGGED COOK**

A high school cafeteria
is where I work. “Hop to it, Velma,”
kids say when the line moves slow.
My son eats outdoors from a bag,
collar turned up, napkin
covering his knees.
That’s what I live with.
Never occurred to me
I was missing out on something.
Though seldom seen in Culvert Hall
I know to sit still
when the conductor taps his stick;
my father waved a strap.
Besides, it doesn’t take that much,
the burdock by the courthouse
grew an eighth of an inch
since yesterday.
A lot of folks didn’t notice.

*Thylias Moss is a native of Cleveland and a lifelong resident of Ohio. She holds a bachelor’s degree in creative writing from Oberlin College, where in 1981 she won first prize in the Academy of American Poets Competition and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. At present she is a teaching assistant at the University of New Hampshire in Durham where she expects to receive a master’s degree in 1983. She has studied with such well known poets as Stuart Friebert, David Young, Charles Simic, Michael Harper, and Philip Booth. Her first book of poems, Hosiery Seams on a Bowlegged Woman, is soon to be published by the Cleveland State University Poetry Center. (Photo by John Moss.)*
GOOD AMNESIA

First of all: this was no accident.
I banged my head against the terminal walls
till I thought all the locomotives' whistles
were for me. Can you prove they weren't
or that I'm any worse off
for thinking I'm Catherine the Great
and look best in masculine clothes?
I deserve recognition
at least for never having been beautiful.
I shouldn't admit it but partitioning Poland
was easy for a woman. That there's one
in every household is no coincidence.
The rationing of food. The rationing.
People live off what we give them.
Some things I can't forget.

USUAL BETRAYALS

Think of things that can aggravate
a bad back. I bet you did not think
of Georgian wine.
There's a certain way to drink it
that keeps it from touching the tongue.
A secret is like your mother's sex.
You had a chance to see it, Peter,
but were born with your eyes closed.
It's better not to mention fault
when we're both guilty of the usual betrayals,
visions of better lives without each other.
So it goes. Not much is allowed
to substitute for loyalty.
For you, Peter, a dacha
and tomatoes in February.
It is right for you to want what I can't give.
FROM THE BRIDE'S JOURNAL

1.
The room fills, refills
without emptying. The light
is dusty and old. His will
holds the wood together, thoughts
compress logs into planks.
Cracks aren't wide enough
for whispers. Cobwebs hang
like pontoon bridges
from one wall to the next.

2.
There's something of a coast
in his profile,
some poached country
where winds knock down trees
and undress them.

3.
The old DeSoto won't start.
I stare through the windshield.
We don't really resemble
the couple in the brochure
as my family suggested.

4.
In the cabin
I sit across from him
keeping on my hat, coat.
He says nothing,
removes my full plate from the table,
takes it outdoors, throws it,
shoots it.

He cracks his knuckles
in the doorway, shakes off snow,
carries me over his shoulder.
His zipper sounds like a saw.
Robert Finn

Critics: the Essential Outsiders

An award-winning critic defends his profession.

A story is told about a letter written to the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius by a younger composer who felt himself badly treated by the critics. Sibelius is said to have replied to his wounded colleague that in his travels he had seen, in the central squares of many a city and town, statues erected to the memory of great composers — but nowhere did he ever remember seeing a statue of a critic. His meaning was clear: don’t let these worrisome creatures bother you; such people are not important — we are.

This story is but one of many such. The creative and performing artist has looked down upon the “mere” critic since the earliest occasions when the two of them came into artistic opposition. “They toil not, neither do they spin,” would be a fair summary of the attitude toward critics on the part of many composers and performers. In our own day, even Arnold Schoenberg and Igor Stravinsky, once regarded as leaders of two opposed camps of the “modern music” world, managed to agree on this one proposition.

Stravinsky expressed his contempt for critics on many occasions. A typical example, as quoted in a London newspaper in 1969: “I had another dream the other day about music critics. They were small and rodent-like with padlocked ears, as if they had stepped out of a painting by Goya.”

Schoenberg, in a 1945 statement, compared the emanations from critical type-writers to those from foul-smelling sewers, and then came to this generous conclusion: “A sewer does not stink in order to annoy one....It stinks because it can only stink. I am not any more offended by critics. They would do better if they could.”

The implication is that the critical function is simply unnecessary to the proper functioning of the arts. Was it not Richard Wagner who wrote that the “immoral profession” of music criticism should be abolished?

I wish here to raise my quavering treble in defense of two ideas: (1) Pace Sibelius, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Wagner and all the rest, the profession of criticism itself, considered separately from the creation and performance of works of art, is a worthwhile, even a necessary activity; (2) The proper critics are not the artists (composers, performers, writers, painters, actors) themselves, but rather a separate breed not directly involved in the creative process.

It might be well at the outset to dispose of a distinction that I regard, perhaps perversely, as vastly overrated — that between the “true critic” and the “mere reviewer,” who presumably sits rather further from the angels in the cosmic scheme of things. This much-debated distinction seems to me a semantic quibble, of little practical importance. Any reviewer worth his salt in the real world is also a critic, and vice versa. The important distinction is not the artificial one between critic and reviewer, but rather the practical one be-

Robert Finn, Music Critic for The Plain Dealer, was born and grew up in Boston; he was graduated from Boston University with a major in English, and has studied both piano and flute with private teachers. A veteran of 27 years' newspaper work, he has written theater and book reviews as well as music criticism, and worked on the staffs of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times and the Akron Beacon Journal before joining the Cleveland Plain Dealer in 1964. Mr. Finn is Chairman of the Education Committee of the Music Critics Association, the professional organization of music critics in the U.S. and Canada, and a member of the Association's board of directors. This year he won, for the fourth time, the ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award for newspaper writing about music.
A common — and, according to Robert Finn, deplorable — view of critics and reviewers is reflected in this cover to a publisher’s brochure.

between critic reviewers who are worth reading and those who are not.

The music critic is more often a critic of performance rather than a critic of works of art themselves. This is a function of the peculiar anti-contemporary malaise that infects the world of music in general these days. Audiences that flock to buy new books, see new plays and movies, and attend gallery openings of living artists are horror-stricken at the idea of listening to music they do not know, especially if it is by living composers. Thus our concert life becomes more a matter of constant repetition of a body of masterworks from the past rather than a series of encounters with, and assessments of, new products. Critics of plays and movies must also assess performance, but their preoccupation with it is nowhere near so lopsided as is that of the music critic. Thus our concert life becomes more a matter of constant repetition of a body of masterworks from the past rather than a series of encounters with, and assessments of, new products. Critics of plays and movies must also assess performance, but their preoccupation with it is nowhere near so lopsided as is that of the music critic. This is a basic peculiarity of his job that to some degree sets the music critic apart from his brethren in the other arts; but it does not change the basic argument for the validity of criticism as a function on its own terms.

One more preliminary note: the ideas to be set forth are drawn from my own experience as a working music critic on a large metropolitan daily newspaper. They are applicable, I hope, with only a minimum of tailoring, to criticism of all the arts.

Very few first-rate works of art explain themselves entirely to the uninitiated beholder at first exposure. You cannot possibly grasp everything there is to grasp about the Sistine Chapel ceiling, The Pickwick Papers or the “Eroica” symphony on a first encounter. There is always the need to go back to them, to become intimately familiar with them, to explore origins, relationships, details and principles of construction, in order to comprehend them on something more than a superficial level. Most serious consumers of art do this, at least with respect to great works that they especially cherish. Indeed, this is one of the principal pleasures of the whole artistic experience. The initial motivation may be spontaneous love for a work of art, or even fascination with some single aspect of it. But the result is closer scrutiny in search of deeper understanding.

People who do this are well on their way to becoming “critics” themselves. One of the first tasks of criticism has always been to try fully to understand a given work in all its varied aspects before presuming to pass judgement on it.

Note that I am talking about the “serious consumer of art,” not the casual onlooker. Most casual onlookers never get beyond the superficial first impression of a work of art, nor do they ever really have the inclination to go further than that. Every music critic has been approached at some time or other by a layman who tells him, “I don’t understand that classical stuff the way you do, but I’ll tell you one thing, I know what I like!” Such people are not likely to be much interested in serious criticism — yet I feel that one of the critic’s primary tasks should be to transform such “casual onlookers” into “serious consumers of art.”

It is important to realize that criticism is basically opinion — informed opinion, it is hoped, or opinion masquerading under some fancy alias, but opinion nonetheless.

To a certain extent every playgoer, gallery habitué or concertgoer who forms an opinion about a work is functioning as a critic, albeit on a rudimentary level. To be sure he does not rush home to his typewriter, commit his views to paper and see them reproduced in hundreds of thousands of copies and laid on every doorstep for miles around within hours. But the basic critical operation — the formation of judgement based on what one has experienced, filtered through one’s taste, education and expressive powers — has taken place, no matter how astonished most art consumers might be to think of the experience in those terms.
Why, then, is this activity—"pure" criticism, as distinct from artistic creation or performance—a worthwhile activity in its own right?

The first task of criticism, like that of art in general, is communication. And foremost in that category I would place the task of interpreting and communicating to the lay public what the artist is doing. Art is not—or should not be—a hermetic activity meant only for contemplation by other artists. It must tell the viewer-listener something important about himself, and to accomplish that, it must speak to him in his own terms.

Admittedly this communication is often on a very high level of artistic sophisticated. It may seem to be intelligible only to a select few. Which is precisely where the critic comes in, or should come in.

To take music as an example, since it is a field in which the gap between today's serious artists and their audience is said to be especially wide: all great composers, no matter how "difficult" their musical language may have seemed to their contemporaries, were bent on communicating with those contemporaries. Over a passage in his Missa Solemnis—even today considered one of his most "difficult" scores, Beethoven wrote "from the heart—may it go to the heart." Closer to our own time, Arnold Schoenberg, whose music is not even today accepted by most concertgoers as part of the standard repertory, said in all sincerity that he "only wanted to be considered a better sort of Tchaikovsky," and that he hoped the day would come when people would leave concerts of his music whistling the tunes.

The critic serves a necessary public function by trying to understand what the creative or performing artist is up to and explaining it in non-technical terms to the layman. This is something that often cannot be done by the artists themselves; many of them are simply not good communicators in words on the layman's level or simply do not think that task important.

Second, criticism is valuable per se because at its best it can provide, or at least work toward, an objective standard of judgement free of self-interest and self-promotion. There has to be someone who can stand on the artistic sidelines and "call them as he sees them," drawing upon the resources of his own education, taste and judgement—acknowledging that his views are not Holy Writ, but willing to stick his neck out. Like the baseball umpire, the critic may not always be right, but he provides a necessary basis for discussion among consumers of art that can be provided in no other way.

Third, criticism is a valuable tool for upholding high artistic standards of both performance and creation in an age when the pressures in the opposite direction are becoming more and more powerful. The fine arts have not escaped the influence of the rise of popular culture, with its emphasis on external flashiness, quick success and newsworthiness as a substitute for artistic quality. The critic, if he is both knowledgeable and conscientious, can take a public stand in favor of genuine quality and high standards, even when they are not accompanied by popularity or gossip-column celebrity.

This is obviously a task which cannot be performed by the artists themselves, or by their partisans. They may—indeed, they often will—disagree with the critic. There is no more hotly contested battle ground in the whole realm of the arts. But the good critic can indeed illuminate for the onlooker what the artist is trying to do, and how well he has done it. He can cite chapter and verse—state clearly what standards apply and where the artist has attained or fallen short of them. Such matters of taste and style are, of course, very slippery and subjective—but only through the critical process can a high artistic standard be upheld. Without the dialogue, however acrimonious it may get at times, that purpose might be lost sight of.

Fourth, criticism serves a very valuable historical function. This may, in fact, be its most solid justification in the long run. The annals of criticism answer the basic questions of the cultural historian: who was performing and creating in the concert halls of New York, Boston, Cleveland, or Oshkosh, in the last quarter of the twentieth century? What did they perform? What sort of audiences did they draw, and how did those audiences react? And what did the reviews, those "abstracts and brief chronicles of the time" have to say in both reportage and judgement? This is the very stuff of artistic history. When the historians get around to writing the musical history of our time they will not go to the theory textbooks or to the pages of theoretical journals like Perspectives of New Music, but to the files of the daily newspapers and other periodicals. What did their critics and writers set down as important? There is a definite journalistic side to even the best criticism, and it should not be looked down upon or apologized for by its practitioners.

Fifth, criticism can provide a valuable service that no one else performs by con-
stantly suggesting new directions — by bring-
ing up the cases of deserving but neglected
works that should be revived, investigating
both past and present for worthwhile efforts
that have gone undiscovered in the largely
commercial operations of our cultural institu-
tions. The critic may call attention to unjustly
neglected authors or composers, or to function-
ing institutions that are nonetheless too
small to attract the notice they deserve. There
should be someone constantly on the lookout
for such things, and the critic seems to me the
ideal person.

I have said something about the critic's
function as objective or disinterested ob-
server. This is one source of his value to the
artistic world. He is not — should not be —
grinding a personal axe or looking out for his
own interest. Having said that, however, it
must be added that there are times when the
critic must be anything but objective. He
should be passionate and committed about
things in which he believes deeply. He should
be willing to break lances, to espouse causes,
to take stands and defend them. The arts be-
ing basically subjective as they are, true and
total "objectivity" is manifestly impossible.

George Bernard Shaw, who was a very
good and provocative music critic before he
got involved in the theater, Fabian socialism
and sundry other nonmusical pursuits, once
insisted that he took every bad performance
as a personal affront and considered its perpe-
trator to be a personal enemy. Shaw may have
been indulging in his characteristic overstate-
ment for effect, but there is a solid kernel of
truth there. The critic who is not to some de-
gree idiosyncratic, with his own easily recog-
nizable ideas and his own pet causes, is to that
extent probably not the most valuable mem-
ber of his profession.

Among critics, as among pianists or
singers, a kind of bland orthodoxy can end by
being simply boring. Some observers today
lament that the artificial perfection of phono-
graph records has reduced the public's toler-
ance for brilliant but highly personal inter-
pretations by performers who may go against the
letter of the musical score but somehow suc-
ceed in saying something important about it
in their own way. A type of competition-
winner pianist has arisen, who does the least
to offend people, rather than the most to stim-
ulate them. The same danger applies to criti-
cism. Better the brilliance of a Virgil Thomson,
with all his crankiness and obvious preju-
dices, than the anonymous blandness of the
critic who is afraid of being proved wrong.

Implicit in much of the foregoing is the
idea that composers and performers them-
selves — artists in general — are not, at least
under today's conditions in the music world,
the proper people to function as critics.

This was not, of course, always so.
There is a distinguished roster of great com-
posers — Schumann, Wolf, Debussy, Berlioz,
d'Indy, Thomson, among many — who also
functioned as music critics in the past. The fact
is, however, that most of them did it only for
the money, which they sorely needed. Al-
most to a man they cordially hated the task.

Berlioz expresses himself on the subject
eloquenty in his memoirs:

Since returning from Italy I had had a fair number of
articles published ... but these various labors were
on a fairly modest scale and of small importance.
They brought me in very little and did next to noth-
ing to relieve my financial embarrassment. One
day, desperate for a few francs, I wrote a kind of
short story called "Rubini at Calais" which ap-
peared in the Gazette Musicale... The editor, M. Ber-
tin, suggested that I should take over the musical
feuilleton in the Débats... I have now virtually given
up my position even on the latter paper... and I write
in the Débats only when absolutely forced to by the
events of the musical world. Such is my aversion to
all work of this nature....

Later, when the success of Les Troyens enabled
Berlioz to give up musical journalism, he was
ecstatic: "At last, at long last after thirty years
of slavery I was free! Free — with no more
feuilletons to write, no more platitudes to con-
done, no more mediocrities to praise, no more
rage to repress, no more lies, no more make-
believe, no more ignoble time-serving!"

Concert life in the days when most of
the great composer-critics were writing was
nothing like what the working critic faces in a
major American or European musical center
today. Concerts were far fewer. Many of the
great composer-critics worked for journals
that appeared weekly or monthly, rather than
daily. It was, in criticism, as in so many other
things, a more relaxed era.

The most recent prominent example of
the distinguished composer-critic is, of
course, Virgil Thomson, who filled the critical
chair at the (lamentably deceased) New York
Herald Tribune from 1940 to 1954 while at the
same time producing a body of symphonic
music (including three operas) that brought
him worldwide fame. In a recent personal en-
counter (and with the purposes of this article
in mind) I asked Thomson, now 86 and hap-
pily still going strong, whether he had been able to do much composing during his years as critic.

"Enormously," he shot back — "but only because I didn't work very hard at the Trib. Three daily reviews and one Sunday piece during the season, with a guaranteed month off during the winter and the summer off too, of course. I led three lives. I was critic, composer and traveling conductor." 6

Clearly Virgil Thomson was not about to strangle his creative juices by tying himself down to a full-time critical job. He was a composer of such renown — and was so recognized by the arts-conscious Tribune management — that they were willing to make these concessions to him in order to add his famous musical name and sprightly pen to their arts pages.

It was not always a happy arrangement. Thomson was a natural anti-establishment maverick and his editors were constantly concerned to teach him proper manners. The tug-of-war that resulted has been splendidly documented by John Vinton in his essay, "The Art of Gentlemanly Discourse," published in Vinton's *Essays After a Dictionary* (Bucknell University Press, 1977).

Composers and performers have long (and publicly) maintained that most critics are simply not fit to criticize their work. The question whether they are right in this belief is not the province of this article. But it might be worth taking note of one recent experiment in the field — what happened when a group of composers decided to do something about what they perceived as a serious professional problem.

This perception resulted in the founding of *Perspectives of New Music*, a journal largely written by composers, academic musicologists and the like, and largely intended for perusal by others on the same professional level. Its basic editorial cadre was drawn from what has been loosely termed the Columbia-Princeton school, a group of composers interested mainly in computer and electronic music, and in a fairly cerebral approach to the writing of music. Part of the rationale behind *Perspectives* was that composers wished to offer the kind of music criticism they found meaningful in place of what they saw as the amateurish pap offered by the daily newspapers and musical trade journals.

Beyond its small audience of specialized professionals, the impact of this experiment has been slight. *Perspectives* is, by most rational standards, unreadable except perhaps by a handful of experts. It specializes in minute theoretical analysis couched in a terminology that is impenetrable in many cases even by other musicians.

If criticism is communication, *Perspectives* does not satisfactorily fulfill that function. Outside of its own hermetic professional coterie, *Perspectives* is not really a force in American musical life today. One gets the impression, too, that its sponsors prefer it that way. They look upon themselves as advanced researchers on the far frontiers of musical science, and do not seem interested in communication with anyone else. Thus I would argue that they are not fulfilling the prime requisite of criticism.

By way of example, here is a snippet from the pages of this remarkable publication:

Thus we may speak of content-determinate pitch systems (or content-referential, or content-generative systems) and order-determinate pitch systems, noting that where order is syntactically determinate this involves a more complicated referential basis than where content alone is, since "order" is not independent, but a referential ordering of the content of a pitch-set.... 7

But the most persuasive argument against having practicing creators and performers serve as critics of their own art is simply that the business of creators should be to create, and that of performers should be to perform — on a full-time basis if possible.

In the best of all possible artistic worlds, composers would simply be too busy composing to have time to function as critics, novelists would be too busy writing novels, playwrights writing plays, etc. What they produce, after all, is the subject matter of criticism. If that production ceases, a major function of criticism ceases with it. Schumann, Debussy, Berlioz, and Wolf were exceptions, who operated in a day when the roles of journalism and the requirements for criticism were different from what they are today.

It seems then that, particularly in the field of music, there must be a race of professional listener-observers, people who do not compose the music or give the performances
that come under review. A somewhat uncertain fanfare of trumpets. Enter the critic.

I will cheerfully admit that not all practicing critics meet the exacting standards I have laid down for the profession. Some are not as learned or as intelligent as they might be. Some are not disinterested, at least on certain topics. Some are bored or cynical. Some do not really like music very much, or so it seems from what they write.

Some, too, are just not very good writers. It is hard to overemphasize that all-important criterion for the critic who would be accounted worth listening to. Criticism is a written art form. For it to be effective it must be readable. All the generally recognized great critics of the arts have been good writers; even their bitter opponents have conceded that.

The critic — at least the one who functions more or less fulltime in a contemporary journalistic situation — must be a generalist. His formal education and fund of acquired knowledge must be wide. He must know all he can find out about many different kinds of music. One might add here (in a timorous whisper) that not all composers and/or performers possess the breadth of musical knowledge and catholicity of taste to function effectively as critics (not all critics do either, of course). Performers in particular, due to the rigorous training they must undergo, often suffer from severe cases of musical tunnel vision. They know the repertory for their own instrument exhaustively, but have vast blank spaces in their knowledge of other areas of music. There are exceptions, of course; everyone who reads this will be able to compile his own list. But I do not believe that they invalidate the general rule.

There is, of course, a converse to this line of reasoning. It is virtually essential for the practicing critic himself to possess some sort of performing capability, or at least, in addition to his formal education in music, to have himself made the effort to compose. The ideal critic is not some creature stuffed merely with book learning and lacking the practical experience that comes from knowing at first hand what the composer and the performer go through. He need not be — as he is often accused of being — merely the composer or performer manqué. Neither should he be one who himself never set finger to keyboard or pencil to music-paper.

In making my argument for criticism as a valuable discipline in its own right and for the professional critic as a figure distinct from the artist himself, I have by design said very little about the specific qualifications, training and preparation for his job. This is a question of paramount importance to everyone in the arts, but it would take a separate essay, probably three times the length of this one, to begin to deal with it. Assuming the critic to be qualified for his job, my point simply is that he performs a valuable and necessary service. And, if the imaginative act of vividly conveying a complex experience to an audience through the medium of words can be called creativity, the critic at his best — to the probable discomfort of the shades of Sibelius, Wagner, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, et al. — might even himself lay claim to being creative.

NOTES

2. From the archives of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles; unpublished.
6. Conversation of the author with Virgil Thomson at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, April 6, 1982.
Leah Beth Ward

The Consumers League of Ohio — Early Champion of Working Women

The recent battle over the Equal Rights Amendment, the rededication of the National Organization for Women to political involvement, and the activities of other women's organizations such as Cleveland Women Working, all evidence a widespread conviction that women continue to be the victims of discrimination. In 1981 the median weekly income of all full-time male wage- and salary-earners was $347 a week compared to $224 for women. Skilled trades workers, mostly male, earned an average of $328 a week compared to $220 for clerical workers, of whom 80 percent were female. These are not just women earning pin money; many have no resources but their own salaries to pay for food, clothes, and housing — often for children and other dependents as well as for themselves.

That such economic injustice has long existed is a commonplace. But it is less well known that efforts to remedy it were being made at the beginning of this century, and that many of these efforts centered in Cleveland in the work of the Consumers League of Ohio. The early efforts of this organization provide some useful lessons for anyone interested in combating the discrimination still suffered by most working women.

Despite the neglect of women's labor history in history books, there is evidence of what life was like for women who worked in shops and factories during the birth of industrial America. Much can be learned from the records of service organizations in Cleveland like the YWCA, the Consumers League, and the Cooperative Employment Bureau for Girls. During the early part of this century these groups raised public consciousness about the particular problems of women and children in industry through a variety of educational, political, and information-gathering activities.

The YWCA was often used as an employment agency by local businesses and industries, and it did what it could to help working women; but it had little effect on wages or working conditions. A similar service was performed by the Cooperative Employment Bureau for Girls, founded in Cleveland in 1909. The Bureau's mostly church-affiliated membership charged itself with obtaining "firsthand knowledge of the moral, physical and economic conditions in establishments furnishing employment, and to make such information available to prospective workers... for the prevention of wasted lives." In seeking to protect the moral integrity of young girls making the transition from school to the working world, the Bureau made it a point to place applicants in clean work, which it defined for the most part as bookkeeping, bookbinding, and house cleaning. Girls were helped to explore other vocations, however, and with the financial support of the

A native and resident of Lakewood, Ohio, Leah Beth Ward received a bachelor's degree in history from Colgate University and the following year was awarded a National Woodrow Wilson Teaching Fellowship there. She spent a year in London doing research on the role of women in the British labor movement. A staff reporter for The Journal, Lorain, Ohio, and labor reporter for Crain's Cleveland Business, she has also published freelance articles in The New York Times and The Christian Science Monitor.
Consumers League of Ohio, the Bureau published a series of handbooks called "How to Judge a Trade."

While companies were listed as the Bureau's source of funding, its placement contacts were developed through churches, the juvenile court, settlement houses, city government, and the board of education. In 1912 the Bureau had 1,500 applicants on file and managed to place 870 in jobs.3

Another socially conscious organization was the Women's City Club of Cleveland, founded by a group of suffragettes in 1916 (five years after the organization of the all-male City Club of Cleveland) "to promote a broad acquaintance among women." Although primarily a neutral forum for the airing of public interest issues, the Women's City Club did promote better working conditions, as well as crusade for smoke abatement, sell war bonds, and work to further education and the arts.4

But perhaps the most ambitious and determined reform organization to take up the cause of working women was the Consumers League of Ohio, founded in 1900 in Cleveland. Over its long history the Consumers League has devoted most of its attention to the plight of women workers, though it has also studied the problems of children and migrant workers. Originally its chosen weapons were investigation and publicizing of abuses and sponsoring consumer boycotts. But soon the League turned to lobbying efforts as the most effective way to improve conditions. After World War I it began to exert pressure on state and national legislators, and in the 1930's it campaigned successfully for unemployment and disability insurance, which of course benefited both sexes. Through the efforts of its long-time executive secretary Elizabeth S. Magee (1882-1972), the League produced the basis for what became known as the Ohio Plan of unemployment insurance, which was a model for similar programs in many other states.5

Before examining the history of the League, it will be useful to take a broader look at the situation of the women workers in this area over the past century.

A century of exploitation

In 1900, one fifth of the 25 million women in the United States worked. In textile mills and tobacco factories they equalled the number of men and in the garment industry they outnumbered them. Women worked in the canning, food processing, shoe and steel industries and the hotel and restaurant business, holding the unskilled jobs with little
hope of learning a trade and moving up the pay ladder. Government studies of the years between 1907 and 1932 show that tens of thousands of self-supporting women worked for less than the estimated cost of living. Most of them earned less than 70 percent of the amount paid to men doing the same or comparable work.6

Such conditions had prevailed for years in Cleveland as in the rest of the country. In April of 1876, when one hundred women walked off the job at Union Screw Works on the corner of Payne and Case Avenues, no one paid much attention. It was the nation's Centennial and Clevelanders were busy planning the coming summer festivities. The labor unrest most would remember—the Lake Shore Railroad strike—was still a year away. Though no one was hurt during this strike, it involved about 500 railroad workers and lasted two weeks. More important, it was part of a nationwide wave of railroad strikes marked elsewhere by violence and destruction of property, which signaled the beginning of a new and more turbulent era in the nation's labor relations.

Lacking leadership and support from the all-male unions, the women at Union Screw Works were not able to sustain their walkout for more than a day. Their demands reflected the cruel irony of a factory woman's economic position in society at the time and for many years to come. They walked out not only for higher wages but for longer hours. Eight cents an hour for nine hours a day, six days a week, was all these women could count on. The Cleveland Leader reported on April 20 that the employer offered only longer hours. Fearful of losing their jobs to an eager and cheap supply of immigrant laborers, the women returned to work. This incident was typical and all too prophetic of the situation of women workers for many decades to come.

The largest employers of women in Cleveland were the garment manufacturers. Printz-Biederman, Joseph and Feiss, and the Kaynne Blouse Co. operated the biggest factories, but some 62 smaller businesses also competed for a share of the clothing market. In 1919 about 2,650 women or 61 percent of the garment industry work force in Cleveland worked in clothing manufacturing, compared to 1,700 men.7 Even after the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (ACWU, now the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union) had become fairly strong organizations in the later 1920s, many garment workers were still hidden away in the marginal, unmarked warehouses and backlot factories known as outside shops, or, more commonly, sweatshops.

Such shops at this period have been described as dark, frequently lit by gas jets even during the day; they were rarely insulated, and in the winter the usual source of heat was a stove in the middle of the factory. Summer days could be unbearably hot because the ventilation system consisted of an open window or two. Wages hovered around $6 a week, and a work week consisted of twelve hours a day for six, even seven days straight during the busy season.8

One bright spot in the generally dismal history of Cleveland's working women during the early part of this century occurred in 1918, when some 4,500 male and female employees of Cleveland garment manufacturers became parties to a landmark, nationally recognized agreement between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cleveland. The agreement won recognition for the local union, at least 40 weeks of guaranteed work a year, the right to bargain for wages, immunity from strikes, and mutually agreed-upon production standards. Although the numerous sweatshops were not included in the agreement, and it took many years of struggle, including strikes, to make the agreement stick, garment workers showed that in the absence of labor legislation workers could take steps to protect themselves.

In spite of this hopeful omen, the typical work experience of a young woman between 1900 and 1933, when Ohio legislators first passed a minimum wage law, was grim. Elizabeth Herman, who lived at 2645 East 122nd St. in Cleveland, was thirteen when she went to work in the woolen industry in 1907 for $2.75 a week. Over the next eighteen years, she held a series of unskilled jobs, doing piece work and earning an average weekly wage of $6. She finally settled into a job helping to run a printing press and earning $14 a week.9 At this time, in the mid 1920s, the Consumers League estimated the weekly cost of living for a single woman at $19.47.10
Some young women did manage to learn a skill and escape the treadmill. Ruth Mitchell, a Russian immigrant, told a story with a happy ending:

I was placed on piece work. The situation was rather unpleasant. The girls had no time to stop and help their neighbor. But I made up my mind to stick to it until I was an expert. I was rewarded for my hard work. A year ago in January, I became assistant designer in the same millinery house—where I started as an apprentice!

But for the most part, working women had little opportunity to improve the conditions under which they labored. By 1919, there were 409,833 gainfully employed women in Ohio. World War I had made women a larger and more visible part of the work force, although the role for many was only temporary because they would have to give up their jobs upon the return of the troops. The assumption was that women work only to earn a little extra “pin money” to supplement the family income. In 1920 the Consumers League disproved this myth when it interviewed 118 working women in Cleveland and found that 54 were self-supporting while only 17 were dependent on a husband or parent. Forty-seven said they contributed vital financial support to their families.

For the same survey, the League collected information on job conditions from the YWCA and several settlement houses. It found no consistent minimum level of wages for women either within an industry or across industries. It did find that one employer was willing to pay more to young women who were “easy to look at.” When she applied for a job, a woman was asked to name her own wage. In order to secure the job, she named a low wage and the employer subsequently had his pick of the cheapest applicants. The pamphlet in which the League published these findings made little impact. The press, which is something of a gauge of public awareness, was not attentive to working women’s problems. In 1913, when Rose Charvat launched the ill-fated Housemaids Union and Rose Pastor Stokes, a cigar factory worker, delivered impassioned speeches in Public Square on the evils of capitalism, the Plain Dealer’s women’s page debated the assets and liabilities of being beautiful. The same paper did print a daily column for several weeks that year called “Diary of a Plain Girl.” The writer was presumably an office worker, but, aside from one melodramatic episode in which she stands up to the evil landlord, she was more interested in telling about her favorite “gentleman caller” than about her job or finances.

The general neglect by the press of significant labor problems ended with the Great Depression. The Press and the Plain Dealer in the early 1930’s competed to expose sweatshop conditions. Press editor Louis Seltzer and Plain Dealer editor Paul Bellamy both supported the League’s efforts for a minimum wage law in Ohio.

The Depression had an even more devastating effect on women workers than on men. An example can be seen in the Ohio canning industry. In 1928, women inspectors, peelers, cutters, labelers and fillers earned an average of $15.33 a week. After the crash, the wage sank to $12.20. Men’s wages, however, rose slightly over the same two-year period from $18.85 a week to $20.45. Women, who made up 50 to 97 percent of the employees in the different canneries, were laid off during the Depression. Some of the money saved from their wages went to the men, who had to work harder to keep productivity and profits up. But even as the crisis eased and women were rehired, wages did not rebound. Men’s earnings dropped to $17.40 in 1936. Women’s rose only to $12.44.

Men were paid a higher wage presumably because they did heavier, more dangerous work. They were cookers or operated cranes, husking machines, or conveyor belts. But even when the work was equal, as it was in many shops, men were routinely paid more than women. A forewoman earned 30 cents an hour to a foreman’s 50 cents. A woman who peeled vegetables earned 20 to 30 cents an hour compared to 25 to 35 cents an hour for a man.

Wages such as those in the canning industry were low partly because of a slow-to-act Minimum Wage Division of the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations. Although a minimum wage law for women was passed in 1933 which called for the setting up of wage boards to investigate conditions in Ohio industries, only one order to pay a set minimum wage had been adopted by 1939. Seven more industries dominated by women workers had yet to be investigated and hence remained unregulated. Besides canneries, they included bakeries, confectioneries, retail stores, elevators...
Upon finding that a minimum wage was needed in a certain industry, the State asked businesses concerned to comply voluntarily. If they did not do so in three months, a mandatory order could be issued. In practice, the law was never effective. It was excessively complex and never received the necessary administrative support. Even where wage boards existed, the minimum wage consistently fell behind the cost of living.

History of the Cleveland League

The National Consumers' League was founded in 1899 in New York City. Notable national presidents have included Newton D. Baker of Cleveland, Jane Addams, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Cleveland followed closely behind New York, organizing a chapter in 1900, although its official incorporation as the Consumers League of Ohio did not take place until 1911. Its purpose, as stated in the Articles of Incorporation, was "to further the welfare of those who make and distribute commodities by investigation, legislation and an appeal to public sentiment." 20

The Ohio League originated in a small literary group called the Book and Thimble Club, which also did some public charity work and which was limited by its constitution to a membership of 25. Some of its members decided to form a branch of the National Consumers' League and become more actively involved in the social problems of the day. As the League's name suggests, its members originally were well-to-do ladies interested in improving the lot of the poor workers who produced the goods they consumed. Of the thirteen original founding officers and board members, twelve were listed in Cleveland's Blue Book.

The interest of such women in joining social reform organizations was one element of a wave of reform that first appeared in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 1893, the nation's first modern industrial depression. Distressed by the economic and social chaos they witnessed around them and frightened by increased labor violence, middle- and upper-class Americans sought ways to control change and restore stability. While the men attempted rational improvements in business and government, the women tried to help the poor and abused and to rescue America from chaos through social justice. They thought of themselves as progressive, and indeed they lived in a period dubbed the Progressive Era. For many "progressive" women this commitment to social justice outlasted America's period of progressive reform and carried them through the 1920s to the New Deal. This was especially true for the members of the Consumers League. 21

The Cooperative Employment Bureau, the YWCA, and the Consumers League of Ohio had interlocking leaderships. The president of the Cooperative Employment Bureau was Mary E. Rathbun, who was also a leading YWCA figure. Myrta Jones, the Consumers League's first president, sat on the Bureau's executive board, as did Mrs. John Lotz, recording secretary of the Consumers League and a volunteer at Alta House on Mayfield Road, one of Cleveland's settlement houses. Belle Sherwin and Mrs. Charles F. Thwing, Consumers League members, were among the founders of the Women's City Club of Cleveland in 1916.

Initially, membership in the League grew rapidly. By 1910, 807 members met annually at various hotels around the city. The twenty-member executive committee met monthly at the Prospect Avenue home of Myrta Jones, who served as president from 1908 to 1923. Honorary vice-presidents during the early years included Cleveland industrialists Samuel Mather and William G. Mather, and Newton D. Baker, Cleveland mayor and Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War (Mrs. Baker served on the executive committee).

In 1913 membership dropped to 673, and Miss Jones instructed executive committee members to obtain speaking engagements before church and social groups to recruit new members. The admission of merchants was considered one way to boost the membership rolls as well as the treasury, but the idea was dropped because of the potential embarrassment involved: abuses by business concerns were the main targets of the League. 22

At the 1921 meeting only 200 luncheons were served, evidence of the declining role played by the general membership. As time went on, the League placed less emphasis on committees of volunteers and concentrated its efforts on developing a paid, professional staff. In these years men first came to play a
role in the League. Previously, as honorary
vice-presidents, their functions were primar­
ily decorative. By 1930 such men as Rabbi
Abba Hillel Silver, attorney Marvin C. Harrison,
and Antioch College professor William
M. Leiserson were actively involved in the
League and worked closely with Elizabeth
Magee.

The League stopped meeting in Miss
Jones's living room in 1925 and rented office
space in the Bank of Lake Erie building for $50
a month. There Elizabeth S. Magee, a gradu­
ate of Oberlin College with a master's degree
in economics from Columbia University, be­
gan her 41-year term of service as Executive
Director of the League.23 Her background as
the Industrial Secretary of the YWCA in De­
troit and in New York City prepared her well
for her new position. Under her leadership
the League built upon its past accomplish­
ments to become a catalyst for social change
in Ohio and the nation.

The League soon moved its offices to
the Engineers Building at 1365 Ontario,
where they are still located. Since World War
II the League has concerned itself with a broad
range of social reforms, including disability
insurance, supplementary unemployment
benefits, conditions for migrant workers, and
national health insurance. Most recently the
League has espoused the interests of con­
sumers, working for stricter garnishment pro­
cedures and a revised utility rate structure in
Ohio.24

Early achievements of the League

Originally the League sought to improve sala­
ries and working conditions by investigating
factories and compiling a “White List” of com­
panies that treated workers well. The list was
published in newspapers and pamphlets and
displayed on placards in the hope that con­
sumers would patronize the approved com­
panies and boycott those with whom the
League had found fault. As early as 1909 the
League also became interested in the possibil­
ities of labor legislation and formed a legisla­
tive committee. In its earlier years the League
was still to some extent a study group, whose
members were educating themselves about
the nature of business and industry as they
educate the public.

A complaint lodged at the city Board of
Health in October of 1912 illustrates the kind
of problem that such civic-minded women
were beginning to notice and investigate. In
response to a chambermaid's complaint of
overcrowded conditions filed on October 12, a
team led by the chief inspector of the Bureau
of Sanitation visited the Hotel Statler on Novem­
ber 1. The inspectors found four to ten bunk
beds in each single hotel room on the thir­
ten floor of the building. The ventilation
system stopped at the twelfth floor. A tuber­
cular, pregnant immigrant woman had been
housed in one room shared by a number of
other employees. The plumbing and lighting
systems were found to be faulty.25

Chief inspector Mildred Chadsey, in re­
laying the results of the inspection to the
League, blamed the overcrowding not on the
hotel manager, who she said was only em­
ploying an unusually large number of women
during a brisk start-up period, but on the ar­
chitect for not designing livable quarters for
the hired help. Nevertheless, Miss Chadsey
enforced city health code regulations and noti­
fied state officials of infractions of their regu­
lations. She asked the League to look into the
wages and hours complaint which the cham­
bermaid had also lodged. She reported the
pay at $15 a month for 17 1/2 hour workdays: 7
a.m. to 12:30 a.m.26

The League did not take up such re­
ported complaints of poor working condi­
tions as individual charity cases. Its strategy
was to investigate abuses and publicize them
on the assumption that the public, once pre­
sented with the facts, would exert enough
moral pressure in the right places to solve so­
cial problems.

While the League was not always re­
paid with action, it did command respect from
government officials and progressive leaders.
In 1918 it managed to become a quasi­
governmental body when the Industrial
Commission of Ohio gave its members the au­
thority to investigate complaints from women
working in shops and factories. The League
could not issue orders, but any employer was
subject to an impromptu visit by a cadre of
well-informed women. League inspectors
preferred to notify employers first of their
visits, however; hard-nosed though women
with the law on their side could be, they were
members of the middle and upper classes.
Confrontation was not one of the socially ac­
ceptable behaviors open to them. Moreover,
some of the businesses they inspected were owned or run by men whom they knew socially or who were associates of their husbands.

There is evidence that the League's inspections were only marginally effective. In 1919, for example, the League joined with the management arm of the ladies' garment industry to inspect both factory and "outside" shops, or sweatshops, in Cleveland. The inspection report, written by the woman who had been appointed to the team by the Ladies Garment Manufacturers Association, recommended that manufacturers make their shops more cheerful and keep plenty of soap and clean towels on hand. There was no mention of wages, and the report saved its harshest words for the dirty cuspidors which lined factory walls. Much of the unpleasantness of factory life, the report said, could be traced to "this pernicious habit" of tobacco chewing.27

According to the author of the report, Miss Charlotte Trainer, the inspection process limited its visits to 32 businesses, but "once the ideals of this inspection permeate the industry, this number will be constantly increased."28 It can be questioned whether these findings reflected the actual harsh conditions that existed and continued to exist for years. In fairness it must be added that the League did work seriously during this period to uncover abuses, and that this was one of its least effective inspections.

Disappointed, however, by lack of impact of its investigations, the League in 1920 began to consider a minimum wage for women. In 1921 and 1923 it mounted unprecedented campaigns for a minimum wage law in Ohio, but these efforts were frustrated when the Supreme Court declared a compulsory minimum wage law for women in Washington, D.C. to be unconstitutional. The court decision reflected the position of business, which had called the law a price-fixing mechanism giving a special advantage to women, who were "legally as capable of contracting for themselves as men."29

Though the Ohio League by the early 1920s had found its own White List to be ineffective, in 1928 the National Consumers' League tried a new version of this tactic. It joined with the National Women's Trade Union League to investigate conditions in candy factories and to compile a nationwide White List. (The Women's Trade Union League was an association of women union and settlement house leaders, founded in Chicago in 1903 by Jane Addams and Mary
O’Sullivan. Addams founded Hull House and O’Sullivan was the first woman organizer of the American Federation of Labor.

The joint effort earned considerably more publicity than individual League efforts in single cities could have. The criteria for earning a spot on the Candy Factories White List were payment of a $14 weekly wage for beginning workers and a nine-hour day. It is difficult to determine how many factories raised wages because of this White List; the Consumers League of Ohio did not perform a follow-up study. The public conscience had been pricked, and in the absence of a minimum wage law, that was about all the League could hope for. With the onset of the Depression, fewer and fewer were able to meet the wage standard; in 1932 the Ohio League abandoned the White List altogether as a means of improving wages, and concentrated on legislative activity. It did not, however, stop its investigations of working conditions.

Elizabeth Magee versus the garment industry

In 1929 the League’s indefatigable executive secretary personally visited over eighteen sweatshops scattered about Cleveland, and she generated a good deal of publicity with her findings. Garment manufacturers wrote her letters expressing surprise and regret for the filth she found and vowing to conduct their own investigations. The Federated Press news service requested a copy of her report, as she was far ahead of the local papers in exposing a condition which many thought had been done away with.

Conducting her investigation on foot, Miss Magee found three kinds of sweatshops: those which occupied one room in a warehouse; those occupying the back rooms of houses in residential areas, which could be found only because of the wires reaching back from the street; and those in the upper floors of respectable-looking downtown buildings, which were hidden and unmarked. State inspectors who tried to ferret them out found that they only reappeared in some other part of the city. Stoves provided the only heat in many shops, indoor plumbing was rare, and half of the power machinery lacked required safety guards. State law required one toilet for every 25 persons, but Miss Magee found an average of one for every 35.

Miss Magee did not gather information on wages and hours for her report, writing that it was “difficult to be sure of accurate information.” Almost certainly sweatshops paid even less than the larger companies, since they existed solely because they were able to produce work cheaply. Generally their wages as well as their position in the industry were marginal.

The League attempted to cut through public ignorance about the persistent nature of sweatshop conditions with Miss Magee’s report, but despite the concern it aroused, the report could not have come at a worse time. In October of 1929, the economy collapsed and the particular problems of women workers blurred against the background of a national depression. But undaunted, the League, led by Miss Magee, proceeded to tackle one of Cleveland’s largest textile manufacturers, the Industrial Rayon Corporation.

The campaign to improve life for women workers at Industrial Rayon began in February of 1929 when the League received complaints from the women of “bad attitudes” displayed toward them by their employer. After a series of wage cuts, petty fines, and short weighting, and the sudden implementation of a rule to keep machines running during the lunch hour, the women walked out. But their job action failed because it did not have strong union backing. The walkout leaders were fired, and it is reasonable to conclude that fear kept the women from taking further steps in their own behalf.

The League did not play a role in the walkout. Rather, it took the more polite route of trying to discuss conditions at the plant with the president, Hiran Rivitz. This task had its limits, as Miss Magee discovered. Letters show that Mr. Rivitz repeatedly broke their appointments on account of “out of town business.”

In order to get an accurate description of working conditions at the plant, the League asked for a report from a woman named Victoria Enos, who had recently begun to work there as a “coner.”

According to her report, from 4:30 p.m. to 2 a.m. each day, Miss Enos ran half a dozen spindles that transferred oily strands of rayon from bobbins onto cones. The cones were fastened to the spindles so that the more spindles one operated, the more cones one wound and
the more money one took home. Experienced coners ran 14 to 18 spindles at once.\textsuperscript{33}

Wages started at 27 cents an hour for the first week; 12 cents plus 9 cents a cone the second; 10 cents plus 9 cents a cone the third, and thereafter 9 cents a cone. If, in a week, a worker wound 10 "bad" cones — ones that were uneven, loose, full of lint or otherwise dirty — she was warned that her job was in jeopardy.\textsuperscript{34}

Such a system of piece work was common in industries that employed nonunion workers, because without a high base rate, employers could maximize the amount of labor they obtained without losing very much in wages. But by putting workers in competition with each other and with themselves in this way, piece work had a demoralizing and dehumanizing effect. "Their eyes were like hungry people's," Miss Enos wrote; "They were after something with a terrible determination."\textsuperscript{35}

The League made no progress in its effort to improve conditions at Industrial Rayon. Three years after Miss Enos described production-line conditions, it heard complaints of speed-ups from office workers. They were reportedly working seven days a week, which violated a state law requiring at least one day of rest in most heavy industrial occupations. Alice P. Gannett, League president at the time, wrote to the company president Mr. Rivitz asking, "in a spirit of cooperation," that the work be spread around to alleviate both joblessness and worker fatigue.\textsuperscript{36} Mr. Rivitz replied that the suggested allegations were "untimely and uncalled for" because his company had been running at a hundred percent capacity throughout the Depression, "enabling at least a small portion of the community to earn a living."\textsuperscript{37} The company comptroller wasn't in any mood to cooperate either. He called Mrs. Gannett's request to hire more workers "asinine."\textsuperscript{38}

It was not a battle of equals. The League simply could not wield any clout during a depression. Yet, the next year, 1933, Miss Magee saw an opportunity to apply pressure and took another swipe at Industrial Rayon.

In early December of that year, the company applied to the Cuyahoga County and Ohio State Relief Association for public works assistance money. It wanted to build a new sewer system. The application for funds was approved at the state level, but before it was processed, Miss Magee wrote letters of protest to Stephen M. Young, former member of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance, and to Cleveland lawyer Edgar Byers and several left-leaning local Democrats. She urged them to use their power to stop the flow of public funds to an anti-union company. Mr. Young subsequently wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, to point out not so much the company's anti-union attitude as the impropriety of using public funds for a private business.\textsuperscript{39}

The final word rested with Harry Hopkins, the Clevelander whom Franklin Roosevelt appointed to head the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) during the Hundred Days of 1933. At FERA, Mr. Hopkins was responsible for allocating grants to state and local governments for public projects. He stopped the grant to Industrial Rayon on the grounds that it would have violated the federal government's responsibility to the public. To deliver such a blow to the company, even though workers at Industrial Rayon did not benefit directly, was a measure of the League's increasing influence at the time.

The League's stature was greatly enhanced by the pioneering research it con-
ducted on unemployment insurance under the direction of Miss Magee. In 1928, the League began to study the issue in a small committee formed expressly for this purpose. By 1930, it was prepared to submit an unemployment insurance bill, drafted by Marvin C. Harrison, to the state legislature. Although the bill did not pass, the League was able to secure the governor's support for a state committee to study unemployment insurance. As a result of the support of State Senator James A. Reynolds, the committee was made up of knowledgeable experts favorable to social insurance programs. The commission appointed Elizabeth Magee as its secretary and issued a two-volume brief on behalf of the Ohio plan of unemployment insurance. In the words of U.S. Senator Paul Douglas, this report "turned the tide of American thinking" on this issue. As a result of these efforts, the unemployment insurance laws of every state in the union share major features of the unemployment insurance law enacted in Ohio in 1936.

Hope for the future:
taking women workers seriously

Reform organizations like the Consumers League, the League of Women Voters, and the Women’s Council of Federated Churches did not take it upon themselves to help openly in the organization of women into unions. Although they would not have considered themselves maternalistic or condescending, their often elite social origins kept members a certain distance from union leaders. The labor movement, for its part, saw little need to ally with the reformers.

But reformers and unionists often joined on the legislative front to push for wage and hours legislation. In Cleveland in the 1930s, the Labor Standards Committee brought the American Federation of Labor together with seven predominantly female organizations to monitor working conditions in industries regulated by state and federal laws.

When it came to the difficult task of organizing women to achieve economic power in their places of work, neither the reformers nor the male-dominated AFL made much of an effort. It is instructive to look at some of the reasons for this failure to organize women workers. Social and psychological as well as political and economic conditions discouraged the unionization of women. Even space could be an obstacle. Victoria Enos noted that she was not able to make any friends at the factory where she worked because the machinery kept her at least 20 feet away from her neighbor. Where there was no conversation there was no commiseration and no camaraderie. Male workers, of course, encountered similar difficulties.

Union dues were often too high for women. Meetings were sometimes held in bars and lasted long into the night, when women had to stay home and take care of the children and the household chores that did not get done during the day.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor under Max S. Hayes affirmed the concept of equal pay for equal work in 1908, but, as labor historian Barbara Mayer Wertheimer has pointed out, if the unions had been strong enough to bargain for equal pay, employers would have simply replaced women with men; for they hired women in the first place only to save money. Male workers often perceived women workers as a threat to wage rates and job security, especially in times of economic depression. A Federation Quarterly editorial in 1932 claimed that women usurped positions from men, "throwing heads of families out of work." Instead of calling for an energetic effort to organize women, the editors lamented the fact that employers would not pay men enough to meet their family obligations. The employment of both husband and wife was an evil which, the editorial continued, "merely goes to prove that the necessity of trade unions is more essential now than ever before." In other words, the union's job was to protect the men by keeping the women out. With such attitudes prevailing in the Cleveland labor movement, the League's pursuit of other solutions becomes understandable.

Furthermore, the women workers themselves were partly to blame. Men who tried to organize women into unions often complained that their indifference was impossible to overcome, and there was validity in the complaint. In a survey conducted for her master's thesis at the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Helen Rowe found in 1934 that most women failed to see a connection between their working conditions and a union. Rowe also concluded that "very few working women in
Cleveland have had a medium for articulation or expression regarding the conditions under which they work.** Eleven years earlier, the Women's City Club of Cleveland had already identified the problem: "Cleveland is known as a city in which this body of [women] workers is not articulate."**

Before condemning the women of that era for their inability to organize themselves effectively, we must remember that women of all social classes inherited a set of social values built up for centuries. The family, the church, and the educational system all taught that the proper sphere of activity for women was the home, not the factory, and certainly not the smoke-filled, beer-stained taverns where the comradeship that strengthened union solidarity was forged.

Until recently, the vast majority of Americans were uncomfortable with the idea of women working. It was applauded only during wartime, because then women worked out of the patriotic goodness of their hearts, or so it was thought.

With everything around them idealizing marriage and motherhood, women who entered the work force did so with the assumption or at least the hope that their stay would be temporary. Hence a well-meaning organization like the Cooperative Employment Bureau for Girls, accepting such assumptions, devoted most of its time to placing young single girls in housemaid positions, which would teach them "the kinds of things every girl and woman should know how to do."**

The Consumers League differed in this respect from other benevolent associations of relatively wealthy women, whose goal was to get factory women back into the home where what was left of Woman's innate morality could thrive. League members confronted the reality of working conditions for women which, in turn, led them to certain fundamentally feminist conclusions. They were not embarrassed by the fact that other women had to work for a living, often in industry. They didn't disapprove of working women. They accepted work as a necessity, not a necessary evil; and, if not quite an enviable right, it was still a reality deserving to be treated with dignity and humanity.

To be sure, the League might have gone further toward reaching an understanding of the social causes underlying the economic exploitation of women. With such an analysis, the League might have helped women workers understand their own situation, and spurred them on to seek access to economic power more effectively.

But it would be unfair to expect social reformers to rise above the thinking of their day. It is in fact surprising and admirable that the League went as far as it did in transcending the current stereotypes of woman's role, especially since a contributing motive for many of its members was probably middle-class guilt. Had their conclusions been more radical, they would have found themselves cast as part of a lunatic fringe, a distinction they certainly wished to avoid as they sought financial contributions from the well-to-do of the city.

The fact that women today are still plagued by unequal pay for equal work, fewer promotions than men, and sexual harassment on the job, does not mean that the efforts of reformers sixty and eighty years ago were futile. Their long campaigns have indeed at last raised public consciousness and contributed to an improved understanding of the economic problems faced by women. Limited though it was in some ways during its early decades, the Consumers League of Ohio provides an encouraging example of the contribution that a few dedicated people can make toward realizing our society's ideals of equality and justice.

Most of the research for this article was done using the Records of the Consumers League of Ohio and other collections at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. The author is grateful for the help provided by the Society, and in particular would like to express thanks to Dr. Dennis Irven Harrison, Curator of Manuscripts, for his many valuable suggestions.

The photographs accompanying the text are reproduced courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society.
NOTES

1 Figures supplied by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.


3 Ibid.


6 Investigation of Factories and Outside Shops, " Report by the Ladies Garment Manufacturers Association and the Consumers League, 1919. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

7 This description is drawn from Barbara Wertheimer, We Were There, the Story of Working Women in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), pp. 294-295.

8 Elizabeth Herman, "My Industrial Experience," essay written on application to the Cleveland YWCA for summer camp for working girls, 1935. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

9 Ibid.

10 Ruth Mitchell, "My Industrial Experience," essay written on application to the YWCA for summer camp for working girls, 1935. Consumers League Records, WRHS.


13 Ibid.

14 The Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 13, 1913.

15 The Canning Industry in Ohio, Occupational Study #4, National Youth Administration in Ohio, May, 1939, p. 40. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

16 The Canning Industry in Ohio, p. 42.

17 Memo on minimum wage prepared by Elizabeth Magee, January, 1939. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

18 An orthographical note: the Consumers League of Ohio dropped the apostrophe from its name, though it remained part of the name of the National Consumers' League.

19 Articles of Incorporation of the Consumers League of Ohio, November 23, 1911. Consumers League Records, WRHS.


21 Minutes of the meeting of the executive committee of the Consumers League of Ohio, January 14, 1913. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

22 Though Miss Magee did not retire until 1966, her activity was curtailed by illness for several years before that date.

23 Perhaps surprisingly (since most early League members were active supporters of women's suffrage and other women's causes), the Consumers League of Ohio opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, from its first introduction by the National Women's Party in 1923. The League maintained that the ERA would undermine special protective measures that had been gained for women.

24 Letter from Mildred Chadsey, chief inspector, Bureau of Sanitation, City of Cleveland, to the Consumers League of Ohio, November 12, 1912. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

Undated letter to Samuel I. Lipp, Secretary of the Legislative Committee on the Minimum Wage, from the Ohio Hotels Association. Consumers League Records, WRHS.


It is not clear whether Miss Enos was a League member on a mission or simply a worker who agreed to participate in an investigation. The articulate nature of her written report, however, suggests she was indeed performing an investigative task, whether she was a League member or not.

Victoria Enos, "Two Weeks at the Industrial Rayon Corp.," February, 1930. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

Letter of October 5, 1932. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

Letter of October 7, 1932. Consumers League Records, WRHS.

Letter of December 18, 1933. Consumers League Records, WRHS.


Wertheimer gives an account of the AFL's discriminatory practices, of Gompers' lip service to equality, and of his basic suspicion of women workers.

Wertheimer, p. 199.

August, 1932, p. 8.

Helen Rowe, "The Ohio Minimum Wage Law and Women Workers in Cleveland," master's thesis for the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, May 1, 1934.

Rowe, p. 70.

Records of the Women's City Club of Cleveland, WRHS.

Third Annual Report, p. 12.
One of the ways in which the English language is regularly augmented is by the formation of new words in which, from an existing word, an element that either has no meaning in itself or whose actual meaning is ignored by the coiner is used as a combining form with a meaning of its own. Take, for example, the word *omnibus*, the Latin dative plural of *omnis*, meaning "all," which came to be applied to a carriage (later to a motor coach) for many passengers, that is to say, a "carriage for all." Early in the nineteenth century, the dative ending -*bus* was clipped from the word and used, as *bus*, with the meaning of the whole, and still later it was employed as a combining form in such compounds as *motorbus* and *autobus* and also as a verb whose participial, *busing*, became an emotion-laden term of the 1970's.

Or take the word *cavalcade*, a borrowing from French, which earlier borrowed it from Italian *cavalcata*, all these forms meaning originally "a ride (later, a procession) on horseback," and deriving ultimately from the past participle of a Late Latin (c.5th century A.D.) verb *caballicare*, "to ride horseback." In the twentieth century, through a faulty separation of elements — the actual suffix is-*ade* — a new combining form-*ade*, with the general meaning of a "a procession or parade" appeared, first in the compound *motorcade* and then, in 1936, in Billy Rose's coinage *aquacade*, a swimming spectacular, but not much of a parade, that was a feature of the Great Lakes Exposition here in Cleveland. Other nonce compounds included *autocade*, *camelcade*, and *aerocade*.

More recently, the Washington scandal that came to be known as *Watergate*, after the building complex housing the Democratic Party Headquarters that was burglarized under the direction of Nixon administration officials, gave birth to a new and prolific combining form, -*gate*, that has spawned, at latest count, at least 43 descendants. Actually *watergate* itself is an old term going back to the fourteenth century, with several meanings (a floodgate, a gate of a town giving access to the waterside, etc.). The developers of the prestigious Washington complex in naming it presumably meant to point up its location on the Potomac. There is, ironically, an old dialectal sense of *water gate* (two words), recorded in the Second Edition of Webster's New International Dictionary as follows: "act of urinating; hence, in proverbs, position of disadvantage." But -*gate* in today's neologisms no longer refers to an entrance or exit, and instead connotes some kind of scandal characterized by charges of corruption or illegal acts carried out covertly by people in positions of power or influence.

Below follows the latest complete list of the -*gates* in the citation file of Webster's New World Dictionary; many are nonce coinages, that is, coinages for which we have only one quotation; but for others, such as *Koreagate*, *Billygate* (referring to the *enfant terrible* of the Carter family), and *Muldergate* (a South African scandal), there are a large number of citations each. In addition to those three, in the order of the frequency with which they are encountered, are: *Lancegate*, *Peanutgate*, *oilgate*, *Bushgate*, *Hollywoodgate*, *Infogate*, *Rhodiegate*, *Templegate*, *Floodgate*, *Garbagegate*, *Angelgate*, *Tailgate*, *Frankkiegate*, *medigate*, *shuttlegate*, *Buddhagate*, *Motorgate*, *Turkeygate*, *Goldingate*, *Windsorgate*, *Lunchgate*, *Irangate*, *Wheatgate*, *Clevelandgate*, *Electricgate*, *Googertgate*, *Sonorgate*, *Tattlegate*, *pillgate*, *Daughtergate*, *Indiangate*, *OMBgate*, *Angolagate*, *Computergate*, *Haysgate*, *Heimsgate*, *Rootsgate*, *junglegate*, *Allengate*, and the newest offspring (a 1982 New York Times citation), *Franklingate*, in allusion to the secret recording device that FDR is alleged to have had in his office. A number of the above coinages were clearly headline writers' handy space-saving devices. Others were neat little puns: *Floodingate*, after Rep. Daniel J. Flood, indicted for taking payoffs in exchange for his legislative influence, but nevertheless re-elected by a doting electorate while awaiting trial; *Goldingate*, after Harrison Goldin, a New York City official involved in some local peccadillo.

Whether or not the rash of -*gates* that has erupted in our news organs is a conscious or unconscious attempt by the media to trivialize Watergate is something for the pundits to ponder, but there is no evidence that the gates have been firmly barred to new entrants.
Whatever nostalgic reveries the revival of *My Fair Lady* may produce in others, for me there is only one possible association — learning Italian. I fret not about a younger, fresher Higgins/Harrison nor do I bemoan Doolittle/Andrews’s lost innocence, nor even my long lost youth. What will remain indelible for this enchanted viewer is a chance encounter on radio with the Italian translator of *My Fair Lady*, heard in the summer of 1964, which caused a reaction in my life that reverberates still.

If translations are any index to success, *My Fair Lady* must be the top or near top among American musicals. I own it in Spanish, French and Italian and I could swear I’ve seen one in Yiddish (or was it *Fiddler*?). The fateful moment occurred on WOSU, the radio station for Ohio State. Back in ’64 I knew none of the four languages just mentioned, with the exception of a smattering of Spanish. My linguistic life got turned around when a radio interviewer (on an English language version of an Italian program) asked the Italian translator of *My Fair Lady* the following question, the same question that could be asked of the hundred-odd translators of *My Fair Lady* throughout the world: “Whatever did you do for a Cockney accent in Italian?”

The translator answered: “Well, you see, we had to use a sound that was difficult for Liza Doolittle to pronounce.”

“What did you choose?”

“We used gna” (*nya* in English).

“What?”

At that point, it was decided to play an excerpt from the Italian version of *My Fair Lady*. My grin grew broader as I understood the need for “gna.” Liza was reciting and Professor Doolittle was listening to the familiar stanza, “The rain in Spain falls mainly on the plain”: “En Espagna si bagna nella campagna,” Liza repeated.

“Ancora” ordered the imperious Italian Higgins, and Liza liltingly complied, as my chuckle deepened.

When it came to Professor Higgins’s climactic “E dove e’ questa bagnato campagna?” (“And where is that soggy plain?”), answered by Liza’s dogged “En Espagna, en Espagna,” I made up my mind I had to learn Italian. I just couldn’t resist the charm of that translation.

Strangely enough, what began in a car, by and large, continued in a car. It took me about five years to teach myself a serviceable Italian, and once having done so, I faced the problem of how to maintain it. My solution has been to leave a *Foto Romanza* on the front seat of my car, which I read at red lights and in traffic jams. *Foto Romanzas* are nothing more than photographed soap operas, the bottom of the literary barrel. If the heroine meets a frog, the reader may rest assured that by the end of the story he will be a prince. Coincidence is the hallmark of virtually every story, but the word “romance” is no coincidence in these potboilers. Typical stories have the lovers going through accidents, revolutions, operations, amnesia, shipwrecks, mountain climbing, treason, spite, jealousy, hate, passion, devotion, religious upheavals and much, much more before the inevitable happy ending.

When I tire of the one-dimensional characters of the *Romanzas*, I turn to the sexier ministrations of *Cosmopolitana*, the Italian sister to our own Helen Gurley Brown’s magazine of feminine enlightenment. *Cosmopolitana* duplicates some American items (I read *The Hite Report* in Italian) but also features many local variations. All the familiar themes strut (in high heels and bikinis) across *Cosmopolitana’s* pages — diet, feminism, sex, fashion, make-up, and above all, the eternal struggle between men and women which apparently knows no national boundaries. There is a wonderful connection between sex and language education. The sex keeps you interested in the language and together they make up an extremely sound pedagogical package.

The method is simplicity itself. With the magazine open to my right and a dictionary in the litter box, I try to miss all the lights between home and the office so that I can pick up a *Romanza* or
Cosmo, glance at a couple of frames or sentences while waiting for the light, and then check any words that I don’t understand at the next (hopefully) missed light. It helps to drive in rush hour traffic both ways, since one can often enjoy two changes of the light (semaphore in Italian) before passing through. My favorite traffic companions are slow-moving old ladies, heedless old men and timorous new drivers, who inevitably occupy the same left-most lane as I. Behind them I can often get whole episodes read, while together we lurch toward town.

I may be the only driver in America who is desperately trying to get downtown as slowly as possible. The benefits of my system are enormous. I never get irritated in traffic, indeed, my problem is that lights aren’t long enough. The gasoline crisis of 1979 was a godsend. I reveled in those long lines at the pumps. In fact, I picked up French and added some Spanish comics during the periods of acute shortage. Some day, I may try Arabic so as to be able to send my thoughts directly to Sheik Yamani in Saudi Arabia.

My system even had political implications reaching as high as the office of Secretary of State, then occupied by Henry Kissinger. Sometime in 1975, I was reading a Romanza about an American heiress who had come to Venice with her fabulously wealthy Texas oil parents, there to encounter an angry young artist on the banks of the Grand Canal. By an astounding coincidence, a later scene occurs after her parents buy her an ancient castle (to soothe her grief over a lost love), in which she discovers that the angry young artist just happens to be the porter of that very castle.

The young girl wanders about dreaming of herself as Padrona of the castle during a fancy dress ball as in times gone by. In her mind’s eye, she sees herself in a gown of the eighteenth century and before her is the angry artist-porter, also dressed in the finery of that day. She, the romantic, is swept back in time to a grand ball such as Tolstoy or Stendhal might describe. He, the stern realist, recognizing her foolishness, says (in Italian), “Non mi guardi così, sono mica una fantasma” (“Do not look at me so, I am no phantom”). Then he quickly adds, in English: “Pleased to meet you Miss, I am the porter.”

Abruptly taken from her dream, she gazes at him and asks, “Come fate a sapere che sono Americana? E’ il notaio che vi ha annunciato la mia venuta?” (“How did you know I was American? From the letter that was sent?”) To which he replies, “No, si vede. Avete l’aspetto pratico, efficente, sterilizzato e sorridente, come Kissinger.” (“It is obvious. You have the efficient, practical, sterile and smiling look of Henry Kissinger.”)

As I read this marvelous exchange, I trembled. I was quite possibly the only person in the world collecting diplomatic references to Kissinger in popular Italian comics. I felt that he should know of this development at once. I sent off a photostat of the three panels of that memorable Foto Romanza. His reply follows.

Secretary Kissinger has asked me to thank you for the letter you sent him enclosing the amusing clipping from an Italian magazine. He appreciates your informing him of his “entrance into the world of pop romance,” an event which may have otherwise gone unnoticed.

I rather suspect that my inspiration from My Fair Lady is, to say the least, uncommon. That does not make it any less dear to me.

Harold Ticktin, an attorney in the Cleveland firm of Ticktin, Baron, Kabb, and Co., attended John Adams High School, Ohio State University, and Case Western Reserve University Law School. He is a past president of the Nationalities Service Center and serves as Counsel for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Ohio. His writings have appeared in The New Leader, Playbill, Bioscience, and other publications.

Readers are invited to submit letters, commentary, and similar short pieces to the “Back Matter” section of The Gamut.
An Invitation to Ohio Artists
to compete for The Gamut Prize in the Visual Arts

Competition Guidelines

Prizes: One hundred dollars for each winning artist; winning works will be published in high-quality, full-color printing in *The Gamut*, Issue #8, (Winter, 1983). An exhibition devoted to works by winners of The Gamut Prize will be mounted at the Cleveland State University Art Gallery in March, 1983.

Eligibility: Paintings, prints, sculpture, and color photographs may be submitted; entries must be the original work of Ohio artists.

Submission Guidelines: Entries should be in the form of color slides (up to twelve) and should be accompanied by the artist’s name, address, telephone number, and social security number. Include postage and packaging for return of slides.

Mail to:

The Gamut Prize in the Visual Arts
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